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WORKS

OF THE LATE

Dr. Benjamin Franklin;

CONSISTING OF HIS

LIFE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TOGETHER WITH

ESSAYS,

HUMOROUS, MORAL, AND LITERARY,

Chiefly in the manner of the

SPECTATOR.

To which is added, not in any other Edition,
An Examination, before the Britiſh Houſe of
Lords, reſpecting the
STAMP-ACT.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed and Published by WM. W. WOODWARD,
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PREFACE.

THE volume which is here presented to the Public, consists of two parts: the Life of Dr. Franklin; and a collection of Miscellaneous Essays, the work of that author, who was born at Boston in New-England, January 6th, 1706, died at Philadelphia, April 17th, 1790.

It is already known to many, that Dr. Franklin amused himself, towards the close of his life, with writing memoirs of his own history. These memoirs were brought down to the year 1757. Together with some other manuscripts, they were left behind him at his death, and were considered as constituting a part of his posthumous property. It is a little extraordinary that, under these circumstances, interesting as they are, from the celebrity of the character of which they treat, and from the critical situation of the present times, they should so long have been withheld from the public. A translation of them appeared in France near two years ago, coming down to the year 1731. There can be no sufficient reason, that what has thus been submitted to the perusal of Europe, should not be made accessible to those to whom Dr. Franklin's language is native. The first part of the history of his life is translated from that publication.

The

The ſtyle of theſe memoirs is uncommonly pleaſing. The ſtory is told with the moſt unreſerved ſincerity, and without any falſe colouring or ornament. We ſee, in every page, that the author examined his ſubject with the eye of a maſter, and related no incidents, the ſprings and origin of which he did not perfectly underſtand. It is this that gives ſuch exquiſite and uncommon perſpicuity to the detail, and delight in the review. The tranſlator has endeavoured, as he went along, to conceive the probable manner in which Dr. Franklin expreſſed his ideas in his Engliſh manuſcript, and he hopes to be forgiven if this enquiry ſhall occaſionally have ſubjected him to the charge of a ſtyle in any reſpect bald or low; to imitate the admirable ſimplicity of the author, is no eaſy taſk.

The Eſſays, which are now, for the firſt time, brought together from various reſources, will be found to be more miſcellaneous than any of Dr. Franklin's that have formerly been collected, and will therefore be more generally amuſing. Dr. Franklin tells us, in his Life that he was an aſſiduous imitator of Addiſon; and from ſome of theſe papers it will be admitted that he was not an unhappy one. The public will be amuſed with following a great philoſopher in his relaxations, and obſerving in what reſpects philoſophy tends to elucidate and improve the moſt common ſubjects. The editor has purpoſely avoided ſuch papers as, by their ſcientifical nature, were leſs adapted for general peruſal.—Theſe he may probably hereafter publiſh in a volume by themſelves.

He ſubjoins a letter from the late celebrated and amiable Dr. Price, to a gentleman in Philadelphia, upon the ſubject of Dr. Franklin's memoirs of his own life.

Hackney, June 19, 1790.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am hardly able to tell you how kindly I take the letters with which you favour me. Your laſt, containing an account of the death of our excellent friend, Dr. Franklin, and the circumſtances attending it, deſerves my particular gratitude. The account which he has left of his life will ſhow, in a ſtriking example how a man, by talents, induſtry, and integrity, may riſe from obſcurity to the firſt eminence and conſequence in the world; but it brings his hiſtory no lower than the year 1757, and I underſtand that ſince he ſent over the copy, which I have read, he has been able to make no additions to it. It is with a melancholy regret I think of his death; but to death we are all bound by the irreverſible order of nature, and in looking forward to it, there is comfort in being able to reflect—that we have not lived in vain, and that all the uſeful and virtuous ſhall meet in a better country beyond the grave.

"Dr. Franklin, in the laſt letter I received from him, after mentioning his age and infirmities, obſerves, that it has been kindly ordered by the Author of nature, that as we draw nearer the concluſion of life, we are furniſhed with more helps to wean us from it, among which one of the ſtrongeſt is the loſs of dear friends. I was delighted with the account you gave in your letter of the honour ſhewn to his memory at Philadelphia, and by Congreſs; and yeſterday I received a high additional pleaſure by being informed that the National Aſſembly of France had determined to go in mourning for him. What a glorious ſcene is opened

there! The annals of the world furnish no parrallel to it. One of the honours of our departed friend is, that he has contributed much to it.

I am with great respect,

Your obliged and very humble servant.

RICHARD PRICE."

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LIFE

OF

DOCTOR BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

&c.

MY DEAR SON,

I HAVE amuſed myſelf with collecting ſome little anecdotes of my family. You may remember the enquiries I made, when you were with me in England, among ſuch of my relations as were then living; and the journey I undertook for that purpoſe. To be acquainted with the particulars of my parentage and life, many of which are unknown to you, I flatter myſelf, will afford the ſame pleaſure to you as to me. I ſhall relate them upon paper: it will be an agreeable employment of a week's uninterrupted leiſure, which I promiſe myſelf during my preſent retirement in the country. There are alſo other motives which induce me to the undertaking. From the boſom of poverty and obſcurity, in which I drew my firſt breath and ſpent my earlieſt years, I have raiſed myſelf to a ſtate of opulence and to ſome degree of celebrity in the world. A conſtant good fortune has attended me through every period of life to my preſent advanced

age; and my descendants may be desirous of learning what were the means of which I made use, and which, thanks to the assisting hand of Providence, have proved so eminently successful. They may also, should they ever be placed in a similar situation, derive some advantage from my narrative.

When I reflect, as I frequently do, upon the felicity I have enjoyed, I sometimes say to myself, that, were the offer made me, I would engage to run again, from beginning to end, the same career of life. All I would ask would be the privilege of an author, to correct in a second edition, certain errors of the first. I could wish, likewise, if it were in my power, to change some trivial incidents and events for others more favourable. Were this however denied me, still would I not decline the offer. But since a repetition of life cannot take place, there is nothing which, in my opinion, so nearly resembles it, as to call to mind all its circumstances, and, to render their remembrance more durable, commit them to writing. By thus employing myself, I shall yield to the inclination, so natural to old men, to talk of themselves and their exploits, and may freely follow my bent, without being tiresome to those who, from respect to my age, might think themselves obliged to listen to me; as they will be at liberty to read me or not as they please. In fine—and I may well avow it, since nobody would believe me were I to deny it—I shall perhaps, by this employment, gratify my vanity. Scarcely indeed have I ever heard or read the introductory phrase, "*I may say without vanity*," but some striking and characteristic instance of vanity has immediately followed. The generality of men hate vanity in others, however strongly they may be tinctured with it themselves; for myself, I pay obeisance to it wherever I meet with it, persuaded that it is advantageous, as well to the individual whom it governs, as to those who are within the sphere of its influence. Of consequence, it would in many cases, not be wholly absurd, that a man should count his vanity among the other sweets of life, and give thanks to providence for the blessing.

And

And here let me with all humility acknowledge, that to divine Providence I am indebted for the felicity I have hitherto enjoyed. It is that power alone which has furnished me with the means I have employed, and that has crowned them with success. My faith in this respect leads me to hope, though I cannot count upon it, that the Divine goodness will still be exercised towards me, either by prolonging the duration of my happiness to the close of life, or by giving me fortitude to support any melancholy reverse, which may happen to me, as to so many others. My future fortune is unknown but to him in whose hand is our destiny, and who can make our very afflictions subservient to our benefit.

One of my uncles, desirous like myself, of collecting anecdotes of our family, gave me some notes, from which I have derived many particulars respecting our ancestors. From these I learn, that they had lived in the same village (Eaton in Northamptonshire) upon a freehold of about thirty acres, for the space at least of three hundred years. How long they had resided there prior to that period, my uncle had been unable to discover; probably ever since the institution of surnames, when they took the appellation of Franklin, which had formerly been the name of a particular order of individuals.*

This

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* *As a proof that Franklin was anciently the common name of an order of rank in England, see Judge Fortescue*, De laudibus legum Angliæ, *written about the year* 1412, *in which is the following passage, to shew that good juries might easily be formed in any part of England:*

" *Regio etiam illa, ita respersa refertaque est* pos-
" sessoribus terrarum *et agrorum, quod in ea, villulatam*
" *parva reperiri on poterit, in qua non est* miles, ar-
" miger, *vel pater familias, qualis ibidem* franklin
" *vulgaritur nuncupatur, magnis ditatus possessonibus,*
" *nec non liberc, tenentes at alii* valecti *plurimi, suis*

This petty eſtate would not have ſufficed for their ſubſiſtence, had they not added the trade of blackſmith, which was perpetuated in the family down to my uncle's time, the eldeſt ſon having been uniformly brought up to this employment: a cuſtom which both he and my father obſerved with reſpect to their eldeſt ſons.

In the reſearches I made at Eaton, I found no account of their births, marriages and deaths, earlier than the year 1555; the pariſh regiſter not extending farther back than that period. This regiſter informed me, that I was the youngeſt ſon of the youngeſt branch of the family, counting five generations. My grandfather, Thomas, who was born in 1598, living at Eaton till he was too old to continue his trade, when he retired to Banbury in Oxfordſhire, where his ſon John, who was a dyer, reſided, and with whom my father was apprenticed. He died, and was buried there:

"*patrimoniis ſufficientes, ad faciendum juratam, in* "*forma prænotata.*"

"*Moreover, the ſame country is ſo filled and replenish-*" *ed with landed menne, that therein ſo ſmall a thorpe*" *cannot be found wherein dwelleth not a knight, an es-*" *quire, or ſuch a houſeholder as is there commonly cal-*" *led a* franklin, *enriched with great poſſeſſions; and*" *alſo other freeholders and many yeomen, able for their*" *livelihoods to make a jury in form aforementioned.*"

OLD TRANSLATION.

Chaucer too calls his country gentlemen a franklin, *and after deſcribing his good houſekeeping, thus characteriſes him:*

This worthy franklin bore a purſe of ſilk,
Fix'd to his girdle, white as morning milk.
Knight to the ſhire, firſt juſtice to th' aſſize,
To help the poor the doubtful to adviſe.
In all employments, generous, juſt he prov'd,
Renown'd for courteſy, by all belov'd.

there: we saw his monument in 1758. His eldest son lived in the family house at Eaton, which he bequeathed, with the land belonging to it, to his only daughter; who, in concert with her husband, Mr. Fisher of Wellingborough, afterwards sold it to Mr. Ested, the present proprietor.

My grandfather had four surviving sons, Thomas, John, Benjamin, and Josias. I shall give you such particulars of them as my memory will furnish, not having my papers here, in which you will find a more minute account, if they are not lost during my absence.

Thomas had learned the trade of a blacksmith under his father; but possessing a good natural understanding, he improved it by study, at the solicitation of a gentleman by the name of Palmer, who was at that time the principal inhabitant of the village, and who encouraged in like manner all my uncles to improve their minds. Thomas thus rendered himself competent to the functions of a country attorney; soon became an essential personage in the affairs of the village; and was one of the chief movers of every public enterprize, as well relative to the country as the town of Northampton. A variety of remarkable incidents were told us of him at Eaton. After enjoying the esteem and patronage of Lord Halifax, he died January 6, 1702, precisely four years before I was born. The recital that was made us of his life and character, by some aged persons of the village, struck you, I remember, as extraordinary, from its analogy to what you knew of myself. "Had he died," said you, "just four years later, one might have supposed a transmigration of souls."

John, to the best of my belief, was brought up to the trade of a wool-dyer.

Benjamin served his apprenticeship in London to a silk-dyer. He was an industrious man: I remember him well; for, while I was a child, he joined my father at Boston, and lived for some years in the house with us. A particular affection had always subsisted between

between my father and him; and I was his godson. He arrived to a great age. He left behind him two quarto volumes of poems in manuscript, consisting of little fugitive pieces addressed to the friends. He had invented a short-hand, which he taught me, but having never made use of it, I have now forgotten it. He was a man of piety, and a constant attendant on the best preachers, whose sermons he took a pleasure in writing down according to the expeditory method he had devised. Many volumes were thus collected by him. He was also extremely fond of politics, too much so perhaps for his situation. I lately found in London a collection which he had made of all the principal pamphlets relative to public affairs, from the year 1641 to 1717. Many volumes are wanting, as appears by the series of numbers; but their still remain eight in folio, and twenty four in quarto and octavo. The collection had fallen into the hands of a second-hand bookseller, who, knowing me by having sold me some books, brought it to me. My uncle, it seems, had left it behind him on his departure for America, about fifty years ago. I found various notes of his writing in the margins. His grandson, Samuel is now living at Boston.

Our humble family had early embraced the Reformation. They remained faithfully attached during the reign of Queen Mary, when they were in danger of being molested on account of their zeal against popery. They had an English Bible, and, to conceal it the more securely, they conceived the prospect of fastening it, open, with pack-threads across the leaves, on the inside of the lid of a close-stool. When my great-grandfather wished to read to his family, he reversed the lid of the close-stool upon his knees, and passed the leaves from one side to the other, which were held down on each by the pack-thread. One of the children was stationed at the door, to give notice if he saw the proctor (an officer of the spiritual court) make his appearance: in that case, the lid was restored to its place, with the Bible

Bible concealed under it as before. I had this anecdote from my uncle Benjamin.

The whole family preſerved its attachments to the Church of England till towards the cloſe of the reign of Charles II. when certain miniſters, who had been ejected as non-conformiſts, having held conventicles in Northamptonſhire, they were joined by Benjamin and Joſias, who adhered to them ever after. The reſt of the family continued in the epiſcopal Church.

My father, Joſias, married early in life. He went with his wife and three children, to New England about the year 1682. conventicles being at that time prohibited by law, and frequently diſturbed, ſome conſiderable perſons of his acquaintance determined to go to America, where they hoped to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, and my father was prevailed on to accompany them.

My father had alſo by the ſame wife four children born in America, and ten others by a ſecond wife, making in all ſeventeen. I remember to have ſeen thirteen ſeated together at his table, who all arrived to years of maturity, and were married. I was the laſt of the ſons, and the youngeſt child, excepting two daughters. I was born at Boſton in New England. My mother the ſecond wife, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the firſt coloniſts of New England, of whom Cotton Mather makes honourable mention, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of that province, as "*a pious* "*and learned Engliſhman*," if I rightly recollect his expreſſions. I have been told of his having written a variety of little pieces; but there appears to be only one in print, which I met with many years ago. It was publiſhed in the year 1675, and is in familiar verſe, agreeable to the taſte of the times and the country. The author addreſſes himſelf to the governors for the time being, ſpeaks for liberty of conſcience, and in favour of the anabaptiſts, quakers, and other ſectaries, who had ſuffered perſecution. To this perſecution he attributes the wars with the natives, and other calamities which afflicted the country, regarding them as the judgments of God

God in punishment of so odious an offence, and he exhorts the government to the repeal of laws so contrary to charity. The poem appeared to be written with a manly freedom and a pleasing simplicity. I recollect the six concluding lines, though I have forgotten the order of words of the two first; the sense of which was, that his censures were dictated by benevolence, and that, of consequence, he wished to be known as the author; because, said he, I hate from my very soul dissimulation:

From Sherburne*; where I dwell,
I therefore put my name,
Your friend who means you well,
PETER FOLGER.

My brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. With respect to myself, I was sent, at the age of eight years to a grammar school. My father destined me for the church, and already regarded me as the chaplain of the family. The promptitude with which from my infancy I had learned to read, for I do not remember to have been ever without this acquirement, and the encouragements of his friends, who assured him that I should one day certainly become a man of letters, confirmed him in this design. My uncle Benjamin, approved also of the scheme, and promised to give me all his volumes of sermons, written, as I have said, in the short hand of his invention, if I would take the pains to learn it.

I remained however scarcely a year at grammar school, although, in this short interval, I had risen from the middle to the head of my class, from thence to the class immediately above, and was to pass at the end of the year, to the one next in order. But my father, burthened with a numerous family, found that he was incapable, without subjecting himself to difficulties, of providing

* *Town in the Island of Nantucket.*

providing for the expence of a collegiate education; and conſidering beſides, as I heard him ſay to his friends, that perſons ſo educated were often poorly provided for, he renounced his firſt intentions, took me from the grammar ſchool, and ſent me to a ſchool for writing and arithmetic, kept by a Mr. George Brownwel, who was a ſkilful maſter, and ſucceeded very well in his profeſſion by employing gentle means only, and ſuch as were calculated to encourage his ſcholars. Under him I ſoon acquired an excellent hand; but I failed in arithmetic, and made therein no ſort of progreſs.

At ten years of age, I was called home to aſſiſt my father in his occupation, which was that of ſoap-boiler and tallow-chandler; a buſineſs to which he had ſerved no apprenticeſhip, but which he embraced on his arrival in New England, becauſe he found his own, that of a dyer, in too little requeſt to enable him to maintain his family. I was accordingly employed in cutting the wicks, filling the moulds, taking care of the ſhop, carrying meſſages, &c.

This buſineſs diſpleaſed me, and I felt a ſtrong inclination for a ſea life; but my father ſet his face againſt it. The vicinity of the water, however, gave me frequent opportunities of venturing myſelf both upon and within it, and I ſoon acquired the art of ſwimming, and of managing a boat.—When embarked with other children, the helm was commonly deputed to me, particularly on difficult occaſions; and, in every other project, I was almoſt always the leader of the troop, whom I ſometimes involved in embarraſſments. I ſhall give an inſtance of this, which demonſtrates an early diſpoſition of mind for public enterpriſes, though the one in queſtion was not conducted by juſtice.

The mill pond was terminated on one ſide by a marſh, upon the borders of which we were accuſtomed to take our ſtand, at high water, to angle for ſmall fiſh. By dint of walking, we had converted the place into a perfect quagmire. My propoſal was to erect a wharf that ſhould afford us firm footing; and I pointed out to my companions a large heap of ſtones, intended for the

the building a new house near the marsh, and which were well adapted for our purpose. Accordingly, when the workmen retired in the evening, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and by labouring diligently, like ants, sometimes four of us uniting our strength to carry a single stone, we removed them all, and constructed our little quay. The workmen were surprised the next morning at not finding their stones, which had been conveyed to our wharf. Enquiries were made respecting the authors of this conveyance; we were discovered; complaints were exhibited against us; many of us underwent correction on the part of our parents; and though I strenuously defended the utility of the work, my father at length convinced me that nothing which was not strictly honest could be useful.

It will not, perhaps, be uninteresting to you to know what sort of a man my father was. He had an excellent constitution, was of a middle size, but well made and strong, and extremely active in whatever he undertook. He designed with a degree of neatness, and knew a little of music. His voice was sonorous and agreeable; so that when he sung a psalm or hymn with accompaniment of his violin, as was his frequent practice in an evening when the labours of the day were finished, it was truly delightful to hear him. He was versed also in mechanics, and could upon occasion, use the tools of a variety of trades. But his greatest excellence was a sound understanding and solid judgment in matters of prudence, both in public and private life. In the former indeed he never engaged, because his numerous family and the mediocrity of his fortune, kept him unremittingly employed in the duties of his profession. But I very well remember that the leading men of the place used frequently to come and ask his advice respecting affairs of the town, or of the church to which he belonged, and that they paid much deference to his opinion. Individuals were also in the habit of consulting him in their private affairs, and he was often chosen arbiter between contending parties.

He was fond of having at his table, as often as poſſible, ſome friends or well informed neighbours capable of rational converſation, and he was always careful to introduce uſeful or ingenious topics of diſcourſe, which might tend to form the minds of his children. By this means he early attracted our attention to what was juſt, prudent, and beneficial in the conduct of life. He never talked of the meats which appeared upon the table, never diſcuſſed whether they were well or ill dreſſed, of a good or bad flavour, high-ſeaſoned or otherwiſe, preferable or inferior to this or that diſh of a ſimilar kind. Thus accuſtomed, from my infancy, to the utmoſt inattention as to thoſe objects, I have always been perfectly regardleſs of what kind of food was before me; and I pay ſo little attention to it even now, that it would be a hard matter for me to recollect, a few hours after I had dined, of what my dinner had conſiſted. When travelling, I have particularly experienced the advantage of this habit; for it has often happened to me to be in company with perſons, who, having a more delicate, becauſe a more exerciſed taſte have ſuffered in many caſes conſiderable inconvenience, while, as to myſelf, I have had nothing to deſire.

My mother was likewiſe poſſeſſed of an excellent conſtitution. She ſuckled all her ten children and I never heard either her or my father complain of any other diſorder than that of which they died: my father at the age of eighty-ſeven, and my mother at eighty-five. They are buried together at Boſton, where, a few years ago, I placed a marble over their grave, with this inſcription:

" HERE LIE

" JOSIAS FRANKLIN and ABIAH his wife: They " lived together with reciprocal affection for fifty-nine " years; and without private fortune, without lucra- " tive employment, by aſſiduous labour and honeſt induſ- " try, decently ſupported a numerous family, and edu- " cated with ſucceſs, thirteen children, and ſeven grand- " children. Let this example, reader, encourage you

" diligently

" diligently to discharge the duties of thy calling, and
" to rely on the support of Divine Providence.

" He was pious and prudent,
" She discreet and virtuous.

" Their youngest son, from a sentiment of filial duty,
" consecrates this stone

" To their memory."

—

I perceive, by my rambling digressions, that I am growing old. But we do not dress for a private company as for a formal ball. This deserves perhaps the name of negligence.

To return, I thus continued employed in my father's trade for the space of two years; that is to say, till I arrived at twelve years of age. About this time my brother John, who had served his apprenticeship in London, having quitted my father, and being married and settled in business on his own account at Rhode Island, I was destined, to all appearance, to supply his place, and be a candle-maker all my life: but my dislike of this occupation continuing, my father was apprehensive, that, if a more agreeable one were not offered me, I might play the truant and escape to sea; as, to his extreme mortification, my brother Josias had done. He therefore took me sometimes to see masons, coopers, braziers, joiners, and other mechanics, employed at their work; in order to discover the bent of my inclination, and fix it if he could upon some occupation that might retain me on shore. I have since, in consequence of these visits, derived no small pleasure from seeing skilful workmen handle their tools; and it has proved of considerable benefit, to have acquired thereby sufficient knowledge to be able to make little things for myself, when I have had no mechanic at

at hand, and to conſtruct ſmall machines for my experiments, while the idea I have conceived has been freſh and ſtrongly impreſſed on my imagination.

My father at length decided that I ſhould be a cutler, and I was placed for ſome days upon trial with my couſin Samuel, ſon of my uncle Benjamin, who had learned this trade in London, and had eſtabliſhed himſelf at Boſton. But the premium he required for my apprenticeſhip diſpleaſing my father, I was recalled home.

From my earlieſt years I had been paſſionately fond of reading, and I laid out in books all the little money I could procure. I was particularly pleaſed with accounts of voyages. My firſt acquiſition was Buuyan's collection in ſmall ſeparate volumes. Theſe I afterwards ſold in order to buy an hiſtorical collection by R. Burton, which conſiſted of ſmall cheap volumes, amounting in all to about forty or fifty. My father's little library was principally made up of books of practical and polemical theology. I read the greateſt part of them. I have ſince often regretted, that at a time when I had ſo great a thirſt for knowledge, more eligible books had not fallen into my hands, as it was then a point decided that I ſhould not be educated for the church. There was alſo among my father's books Plutarch's Lives, in which I read continually, and I ſtill regard as advantageouſly employed the time I devoted to them. I found beſides a work of De Foe, entitled, an Eſſay, on Projects, from which, perhaps, I derived impreſſions that have ſince influenced ſome of the principal events of my life.

My inclination for books at laſt determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already a ſon in that profeſſion. My brother had returned from England in 1717 with a preſs and types, in order to eſtabliſh a printing-houſe at Boſton. This buſineſs pleaſed me much better than that of my father, though I had ſtill a predilection for the ſea. To prevent the effects which might reſult from this inclination, my father was impatient to ſee me engaged with my brother.

ther. I held back for ſome time; at length however I ſuffered myſelf to be perſuaded, and ſigned my indentures, being then only twelve years of age. It was agreed that I ſhould ſerve as apprentice to the age of twenty one, and ſhould receive journeyman's wages only during the laſt year.

In a very ſhort time I made great proficiency in this buſineſs, and became very ſerviceable to my brother. I had now an opportunity of procuring better books. The acquaintance I neceſſarily formed with bookſellers' apprentices, enable me to borrow a volume now and then, which I never failed to return punctually and without injury. How often has it happened to me to paſs the greater part of the night in reading by my bed-ſide, when the book had been lent me in the evening, and was to be returned the next morning, leſt it might be miſſed or wanted.

At length, Mr. Matthew Adams, an ingenious tradeſman, who had a handſome collection of books, and who frequented our printing-houſe, took notice of me. He invited me to ſee his library, and had the goodneſs to lend me any books I was deſirous of reading. I then took a ſtrange fancy for poetry, and compoſed ſeveral little pieces. My brother, thinking he might find his account in it, encouraged me and engaged me to write two ballads. One, called the Lighthouſe Tragedy, contained an account of the ſhipwreck of captain Worthilake and his two daughters; the other was a ſailor's ſong on the capture of the noted pirate called *Teach*, or *Black-beard*. They were wretched verſes in point of ſtyle, mere blind-men's ditties. When printed he diſpatched me about the town to ſell them, the firſt had a prodigious run, becauſe the event was recent, and had made a great noiſe.

My vanity was flattered by this ſucceſs; but my father checked my exultation, by ridiculing my productions, and telling me that verſifiers were always poor. I thus eſcaped the misfortune of being, probably a very wretched poet. But as the faculty of writing proſe has

has been of great service to me in the course of my life, and principally contributed to my advancement, I shall relate by what means situated as I was, I acquired the small skill I may possess in that way.

There was in the town another young man, a great lover of books, of the name of John Collins, with whom I was intimately connected. We frequently engaged in dispute, and were indeed so fond of argumentation, that nothing was so agreeable to us as a war of words. This contentious temper, I would observe by the bye, is in danger of becoming a very bad habit, and frequently renders a man's company insupportable, as being no otherwise capable of indulgence than by indiscriminate contradiction. Independently of the acrimony and discord it introduces into conversation, it is often productive of dislike, and even hatred, between persons to whom friendship is indispensibly necessary. I acquired it by reading, while I lived with my father, books of religious controversy. I have since remarked, that men of sense seldom fall into this error; lawyers, fellows of universities, and persons of every profession educated at Edinburgh, excepted.

Collins and I fell one day into an argument relative to the education of women; namely, whether it were proper to instruct them in the sciences, and whether they were competent to the study. Collins supported the negative, and affirmed that the task was beyond their capacity. I maintained the opposite opinion, a little perhaps for the pleasure of disputing. He was naturally more eloquent than I; words flowed copiously from his lips; and frequently I thought myself vanquished, more by his volubility than by the force of his arguments. We separated without coming to an agreement upon this point; and as we were not to see each other again for some time, I committed my thoughts to paper, made a fair copy, and sent it to him. He answered, and I replied. Three or four letters had been written by each, when my father chanced to light upon my papers and read them. Without entering into the merits of the cause, he embraced the opportunity of

of ſpeaking to me upon my manner of writing. He obſerved that though I had the advantage of my adverſary in correct ſpelling and pointing which I owed to my occupation, I was greatly his inferior in elegance of expreſſion, in arrangement and perſpicuity. Of this he convinced me by ſeveral examples. I felt the juſtice of his remarks, became more attentive to language, and reſolved to make every effort to improve my ſtyle. Amidſt theſe reſolves an odd volume of the Spectator fell into my hands. This was a publication I had never ſeen. I bought the volume, and read it again and again. I was enchanted with it, thought the ſtyle excellent, and wiſhed it were in my power to imitate it; with this view, I ſelected ſome of the papers, made ſhort ſummaries of the ſenſe of each period, and put them for a few days aſide. I then, without looking at the book, endeavoured to reſtore the eſſays to their true form, and to expreſs each thought at length, as it was in the original, employing the moſt appropriate words that occurred to my mind. I afterwards compared my Spectator with the original; I perceived ſome faults, which I corrected: but I found that I wanted a fund of words, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, and a facility of recollecting and employing them, which I thought I ſhould by that time have acquired, had I continued to make verſes. The continual need of words of the ſame meaning, but of different lengths for the meaſure, or of different ſounds for the rhyme would have obliged me to ſeek for a variety of ſynonymes, and have rendered me maſter of them. From this belief, I took ſome of the tales of the Spectator, and turned them into verſe; and after a time, when I had ſufficiently forgotten them, I again converted them into proſe.

Sometimes alſo I mingled all my ſummaries together; and a few weeks after, endeavoured to arrange them in the beſt order, before I attempted to form the periods and complete the eſſays. This I did with a view of acquiring method in the arrangement of my thoughts. On comparing afterwards my performance with

with the original, many faults were apparent, which I corrected; but I had sometimes the satisfaction to think, that, in certain particulars of little importance, I had been fortunate enough to improve the order of thought or the style; and this encouraged me to hope that I should succeed, in time, in writing the English language, which was one of the greatest objects of my ambition.

The time which I devoted to these exercises, and to reading, was the evening after my day's labour was finished, the morning before it began, and Sundays when I could escape attending divine service. While I lived with my father, he had insisted on my punctual attendance on public worship, and I still indeed considered it as a duty, but a duty which I thought I had no time to practise.

When about sixteen years of age, a work of Tryon fell into my hands, in which he recommends vegetable diet. I determined to observe it. My brother, being a bachelor, did not keep house, but boarded with his apprentices in a neighbouring family. My refusing to eat animal food was found inconvenient, and I was often scolded for my singularity. I attended to the mode in which Tryon prepared some of his dishes, particularly how to boil potatoes and rice, and make hasty puddings. I then said to my brother, that if he would allow me per week half what he paid for my board, I would undertake to maintain myself. The offer was instantly embraced, and I soon found that of what he gave me I was able to save half. This was a new fund for the purchase of books; and other advantages resulted to me from the plan. When my brother and his workmen left the printing-house to go to dinner, I remained behind; and dispatching my frugal meal, which frequently consisted of a biscuit only, or a slice of bread and a bunch of raisins, or a bun from the pastry cook's, with a glass of water, I had the rest of the time, till their return, for study; and my progress therein was proportioned to that clearness of ideas and quickness of conception, which are the fruit of temperance in eating and drinking.

It was about this period that, having one day been put to the bluſh for my ignorance in the art of calculation, which I had twice failed to learn while at ſchool, I took Cocker's Treatiſe of Arithmetic, and went through it by myſelf with the utmoſt eaſe. I alſo read a book of Navigation by Seller and Sturmy, and made myſelf maſter of the little geometry it contains, but I never proceeded far in this ſcience. Nearly at the ſame time I read Locke on the Human Underſtanding, and the Art of Thinking by Meſſrs. du Port-Royal.

While labouring to form and improve my ſtyle, I met with an Engliſh Grammar, which I believe was Greenwood's having at the end of it two little eſſays on rhetoric and logic. In the latter I found a model of diſputation after the manner of Socrates. Shortly after I procured Xenophon's work, entitled Memorable Things of Socrates, in which are various examples of the ſame method. Charmed to a degree of enthuſiaſm with this mode of diſputing, I adopted it, and renouncing blunt contradiction, and direct and poſitive argument, I aſſumed the character of a humble queſtioner. The peruſal of Shaftſbury and Collins had made me a ſceptic; and being previouſly ſo as to many doctrines of Chriſtianity, I found Socrates's method to be both the ſafeſt for myſelf, as well as the moſt embarraſſing to thoſe againſt whom I employed it. It ſoon afforded me ſingular pleaſure; I inceſſantly practiſed it; and became very adroit in obtaining, even from perſons of ſuperior underſtanding, conceſſions of which they did not foreſee the conſequences. Thus I involved them in difficulties from which they were unable to extricate themſelves, and ſometimes obtained victories, which neither my cauſe nor my arguments merited.

This method I continued to employ for ſome years; but I afterwards abandoned it by degrees, retaining only the habit of expreſſing myſelf with modeſt diffidence, and never making uſe, when I advanced any propoſition which might be controverted, of the words

certainly

certainly, undoubtedly, or any others that might give the appearance of being obſtinately attached to my opinion. I rather ſaid I imagine, I ſuppoſe, or it appears to me, that ſuch a thing is ſo or ſo, for ſuch and ſuch reaſons; or it is ſo, if I am not miſtaken. This habit has, I think been of conſiderable advantage to me, when I have had occaſion to impreſs my opinion on the minds of others and perſuade them to the adoption of the meaſures I have ſuggeſted. And ſince the chief ends of converſation are, to inform or to be informed, to pleaſe or to perſuade, I could wiſh that intelligent and well-meaning men would not themſelves diminiſh the powers they poſſeſs of being uſeful, by a poſitive and preſumptuous manner of expreſſing themſelves, which ſcarcely ever fails to diſguſt the hearer, and is only calculated to excite oppoſition and defeat every purpoſe for which the faculty of ſpeech has been beſtowed upon man. In ſhort, if you wiſh to inform, a poſitive and dogmatical manner of advancing your opinion may provoke contradiction, and prevent your being heard with attention. On the other hand, if with a deſire of being informed, and of benefiting by the knowledge of others, you expreſs yourſelves as being ſtrongly attached to your own opinions, modeſt and ſenſible men, who do not love diſputation, will leave you in tranquil poſſeſſion of your errors. By following ſuch a method, you can rarely hope to pleaſe your auditors, conciliate their good-will, or work conviction on thoſe whom you may be deſirous of gaining over to your views. Pope judiciouſly obſerves,

Men muſt be taught as if you taught them not,
And things unknown propos'd as things forgot.

And in the ſame poem he afterwards adviſes us,

To ſpeak, tho' ſure, with ſeeming diffidence.

He

He might have added to these lines, one that he has coupled elsewhere, in my opinion, with less propriety. It is thus:

For want of decency is want of sense.

If you ask why I say with *less propriety*, I must give you the two lines together:

Immodest words admit of *no defence*,
For want of decency is want of sense.

Now want of sense, when a man has the misfortune to be so circumstanced, it is not a kind of excuse for want of modesty? And would not the verses have been more accurate, if they had been constructed thus:

Immodest words admit *but this defence*,
That want of decency is want of sense.

But I leave the decision of this to better judges than myself.

In 1720, or 1721, my brother began to print a new public paper. It was the second that made its appearance in America, and was entitled the *New England Courant*. The only one that existed before was the *Boston News Letter*. Some of his friends, I remember, would have dissuaded him from this undertaking, as a thing that was not likely to succeed; a single newspaper being, in their opinion sufficient for all America. At present, however, in 1777, there is no less than twenty-five. But he carried his project into execution, and I was employed in distributing the copies to his customers, after having assisted in composing and working them off.

Among his friends he had a number of literary characters, who, as an amusement, wrote short essays for the paper, which gave it reputation and increased its sale. Those gentleman came frequently to our house. I heard the conversation that passed, and the accounts

they

they gave of the favourable reception of their writings with the public. I was tempted to try my hand among them; but, being still a child as it were, I was fearful that my brother might be unwilling to print in his paper any performance of which he should know me to be the author. I therefore contrived to disguise my hand, and having written an anonymous piece, I placed it at night under the door of the printing-house, where it was found the next morning. My brother communicated it to his friends, when they came as usual to see him, who read it, commented upon it within my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure to find that it met with their approbation, and that, in the various conjectures they made respecting the author, no one was mentioned who did not enjoy a high reputation in the country for talents and genius. I now supposed myself fortunate in my judges, and began to suspect that they were not such excellent writers as I had hitherto supposed them. Be that as it may, encouraged by this little adventure, I wrote and sent to the press, in the same way many other pieces, which were equally approved; keeping the secret till my slender stock of information and knowledge for such performances was pretty completely exhausted, when I made myself known.

My brother, upon his discovery, began to entertain a little more respect for me; but he still regarded himself as my master, and treated me like an apprentice. He thought himself entitled to the same services from me as from any other person. On the contrary, I conceived that, in many instances, he was too rigorous, and that, on the part of a brother, I had a right to expect greater indulgence. Our disputes were frequently brought before my father; and either my brother was generally in the wrong, or I was the better pleader of the two, for judgment was commonly given in my favour. But my brother was passionate, and often had recourse to blows; a circumstance which I took in very ill part. This severe and tyrannical treatment contributed, I believe, to imprint on my mind that aversion

averſion to arbitrary power, which during my whole life I have ever preſerved. My apprenticeſhip became inſupportable to me, and I continually ſighed for an opportunity of ſhortening it, which at length unexpectedly offered.

An article inſerted in our paper upon ſome political ſubject which I have now forgotten, gave offence to the Aſſembly. My brother was taken into cuſtody, cenſured, and ordered into confinement for a month, becauſe, as I preſume, he would not diſcover the author. I was alſo taken up, and examined before the council; but, though I gave them no ſatisfaction, they contented themſelves with reprimanding, and then diſmiſſed me; conſidering me probably bound in quality of apprentice, to keep my maſter's ſecrets.

The impriſonment of my brother kindled my reſentment, notwithſtanding our private quarrels. During its continuance the management of the paper was entruſted to me, and I was bold enough to inſert ſome paſquerades againſt the governors; which highly pleaſed my brother, while others began to look upon me in an unfavourable point of view, conſidering me as a young wit inclined to ſatire and lampoon.

My brother's enlargement was accompanied with an arbitrary order from the houſe of aſſembly, "That "James Franklin ſhould no longer print the newſpa- "per entitled the *New-England Courant*." In this conjuncture, we held a conſultation of our friends at the printing-houſe, in order to determine what was proper to be done. Some propoſed to evade the order by changing the title of the paper: but my brother foreſeeing inconveniencies that would reſult from this ſtep, thought it better that it ſhould in future be printed in the name of Benjamin Franklin; and to avoid the cenſure of the aſſembly, who might charge him with ſtill printing the paper himſelf, under the name of his apprentice, it was reſolved that my old indentures ſhould be given up to me, with a full and entire diſcharge written on the back, in order to be produced upon an emergency; but that, to ſecure to my brother

ther the benefit of my ſervice, I ſhould ſign a new contract, which ſhould be kept ſecret during the remainder of the term. This was a very ſhallow arrangement. It was, however, carried into immediate execution, and the paper continued, in conſequence, to make its appearance for ſome months in my name. At length a new difference ariſing between my brother and me, I ventured to take advantage of my liberty, preſuming that he would not dare to produce the new contract. It was undoubtedly diſhonourable to avail myſelf of this circumſtance, and I reckon this action as one of the firſt errors of my life; but I was little capable of eſtimating it at its true value, embittered as my mind had been by the recollection of the blows I had received. Excluſively of his paſſionate treatment of me, my brother was by no means a man of an ill temper, and perhaps my manners had too much of impertinence not to afford it a very natural pretext.

When he knew that it was my determination to quit him, he wiſhed to prevent my finding employment elſewhere. He went to all the printing-houſes in the town, and prejudiced the maſters againſt me, who accordingly refuſed to employ me. The idea then ſuggeſted itſelf to me of going to New-York, the neareſt town in which there was a printing-office. Farther reflection confirmed me in the deſign of leaving Boſton, where I had already rendered myſelf an object of ſuſpicion to the governing party. It was probable, from the arbitrary proceedings of the aſſembly in the affair of my brother, that by remaining I ſhould ſoon have been expoſed to difficulties, which I had the greater reaſon to apprehend, as from my indiſcreet diſputes upon the ſubject of religion I begun to be regarded by pious ſouls with horror, either as an apoſtate or an atheiſt. I came therefore to a reſolution; but my father, in this inſtance, ſiding with my brother, I preſumed that if I attempted to depart openly, meaſures would be taken to prevent me. My friend Collins undertook to favour my flight. He agreed for my paſſage with the capt. of a New-York ſloop, to whom

whom he repreſented me as a young man of his acquaintance, who had had an affair with a girl of bad character, whoſe parents wiſhed to compel me to marry her, and that of conſequence I could neither make my appearance, nor go off publicly. I ſold part of my books to procure a ſmall ſum of money, and went privately on board the ſloop. By favour of a good wind I found myſelf in three days at New-York, nearly three hundred miles from my home, at the age only of ſeventeen years, without knowing an individual in the place, and with very little money in my pocket.

The inclination I had felt for a ſeafaring life was entirely ſubſided, or I ſhould now have been able to gratify it; but having another trade, and believing myſelf a tolerable workman, I heſitated not to offer my ſervices to the old Mr. William Bradford, who had been the firſt printer in Pennſylvania, but had quitted that province on account of a quarrel with George Keith, the governor. He could not give me employment himſelf, having little to do, and already as many perſons as he wanted; but he told me that his ſon, printer at Philadelphia, had lately loſt his principal workman, Aquila Roſe, who was dead, and that if I would go thither, he believed he would engage me. Philadelphia was an hundred miles farther. I heſitated not to embark in a boat in order to repair, by the ſhorteſt cut of the ſea, to Amboy, leaving my trunk and effects to come after me by the uſual and more tedious conveyance. In croſſing the bay we met with a ſquall, which ſhattered to pieces our rotten ſails, prevented us from entering the Kill, and threw us upon Long-Iſland.

During the ſquall a drunken Dutchman, who like myſelf was a paſſenger in the boat, fell into the ſea. At the moment that he was ſinking, I ſeized him by the fore-top, ſaved him, and drew him on board. This immerſion ſobered him a little, ſo that he fell aſleep, after having taken from his pocket a volume, which he requeſted me to dry. This volume I found to be my old favourite work, Bunyan's Voyages, in Dutch, a beautiful

beautiful impreſſion on fine paper, with copperplate engravings; a dreſs in which I had never ſeen it in its original language. I have ſince learned that it has been tranſlated into almoſt all the languages of Europe, and next to the Bible, I am perſuaded, it is one of the books which has had the greateſt ſpread. Honeſt John is the firſt, that I know of, who has mixed narrative and dialogue together; a mode of writing very engaging to the reader, who in the moſt intereſting paſſages, finds himſelf admitted as it were into the company, and preſent at the converſation. De Foe has imitated it with ſucceſs in his Robinſon Cruſoe, his Moll Flanders, and other works; as alſo has Richardſon in his Pamelia, &c.

In approaching the iſland we found that we had made a part of the coaſt where it was not poſſible to land, on account of the ſtrong breakers produced by the rocky ſhore. We caſt anchor and veered the cable towards the ſhore. Some men, who ſtood upon the brink, hallooed to us, while we did the ſame on our part; but the wind was ſo high, and the waves ſo noiſy, that we could neither of us hear each other. There were ſome canoes upon the bank, and we called out to them, and made ſigns to prevail on them to come and take us up; but either they did not underſtand us, or they deemed our requeſt impracticable, and withdrew. Night came on, and nothing remained for us but to wait quietly the ſubſiding of the wind; till when we determined, that is, the pilot and I, to ſleep if poſſible. For that purpoſe we went below the hatches along with the Dutchman, who was drenched with water. The ſea broke over the boat, and reached us in our retreat, ſo that we were preſently as completely drenched as he.

We had very little repoſe during the whole night: but the wind abating the next day, we ſucceeded in reaching Amboy before it was dark, after having paſſed thirty hours without proviſions, and with no other drink than a bottle of bad rum, the water upon which we rowed being ſalt. In the evening I went to bed with

with a very violent fever. I had somewhere read that cold water, drank plentifully, was a remedy in such cases. I followed the prescription, was in a profuse sweat for the greater part of the night, and the fever left me. The next day I crossed the river in a ferry-boat, and continued my journey on foot. I had fifty miles to walk, in order to reach Burlington, where I was told I should find passage-boats that would convey me to Philadelphia. It rained hard the whole day, so that I was wet to the skin. Finding myself fatigued about noon, I stopped at a paltry inn, where I passed the rest of the day and the whole night, beginning to regret that I had quitted my home. I made besides so wretched a figure, that I was suspected to be some runaway servant. This I discovered by the questions that were asked me; and I felt that I was every moment in danger of being taken up as such. The next day, however, I continued my journey, and arrived in the evening at an inn, eight or ten miles from Burlington, that was kept by one Dr. Brown.

This man entered into conversation with me while I took some refreshment, and perceiving that I had read a little, he expressed towards me considerable interest and friendship. Our acquaintance continued during the remainder of his life. I believe him to have been what is called an itinerant doctor; for there was no town in England, or indeed in Europe, of which he could not give a particular account. He was neither deficient in understanding nor literature, but he was a bad infidel; and, some years after, undertook to travesty the Bible in burlesque verse, as Cotton has travestied Virgil. He exhibited, by this means, many facts in a very ludicrous point of view, which would have given umbrage to weak minds, had his work been published, which it never was.

I spent the night at his house, and reached Burlington the next morning. On my arrival, I had the mortification to learn that the ordinary passage-boats had sailed a little before. This was on a Saturday, and there would be no other boat till the Tuesday following.

lowing. I returned to the houſe of an old woman in the town who had ſold me ſome gingerbread to eat on my paſſage, and I aſked her advice. She invited me to take up my abode with her till an opportunity offered for me to embark. Fatigued with having travelled ſo far on foot, I accepted her invitation. When ſhe underſtood that I was a printer, ſhe would have perſuaded me to ſtay at Burlington, and ſet up my trade: but ſhe was little aware of the capital that would be neceſſary for ſuch a purpoſe! I was treated while at her houſe with true hoſpitality. She gave me, with the utmoſt good-will, a dinner of beef-ſteaks, and would accept of nothing in return but a pint of ale.

Here I imagined myſelf to be fixed till the Tueſday in the enſuing week; but walking out in the evening by the river-ſide, I ſaw a boat with a number of perſons in it approach. It was going to Philadelphia, and the company took me in. As there was no wind, we could only make way with our oars. About midnight, not perceiving the town, ſome of the company were of opinion that we muſt have paſſed it, and were unwilling to row any farther; the reſt not knowing where we were, it was reſolved that we ſhould ſtop. We drew towards the ſhore, entered a creek, and landed near ſome old paliſades, which ſerved us for firewood, it being a cold night in October. Here we ſtayed till day, when one of the company found the place in which we were to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia, which in reality we perceived the moment we were out of the Creek. We arrived on Sunday about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, and landed on Market-ſtreet wharf.

I have entered into the particulars of my voyage, and ſhall in like manner deſcribe my firſt entrance into this city, that you may be able to compare beginnings ſo little auſpicious, with the figure I have ſince made.

On my arrival at Philadelphia I was in my working dreſs, my beſt clothes being to come by ſea. I was covered with dirt; my pockets were filled with

ſhirts

ſhirts and ſtockings; I was unacquainted with a ſingle ſoul in the place, and I knew not where to ſeek for a lodging. Fatigued with walking, rowing, and having paſſed the night without ſleep, I was extremely hungry, and all my money conſiſted of a Dutch dollar, and about a ſhilling's worth of coppers which I gave to the boatmen for my paſſage. As I had aſſiſted them in rowing, they refuſed it at firſt; but I inſiſted on their taking it. A man is ſometimes more generous when he has little than when he has much money; probably becauſe in the firſt caſe, he is deſirous of concealing his poverty.

I walked towards the top of the ſtreet, looking eagerly on both ſides, till I came to market-ſtreet, where I met a child with a loaf of bread. Often had I made my dinner on dry bread. I enquired where he had bought it, and went ſtraight to the baker's ſhop which he pointed out to me. I aſked for ſome biſcuits, expecting to find ſuch as we had at Boſton; but they made it ſeems, none of that ſort at Philadelphia. I then aſked for a three-penny loaf. They made no loaves of that price. Finding myſelf ignorant of the prices, as well as of the different kinds of bread, I deſired him to let me have three penny-worth of bread of ſome kind or other. He gave me three large rolls. I was ſurpriſed at receiving ſo much: I took them however, and having no room in my pockets, I walked on with a roll under each arm, eating the third. In this manner I went through Market-ſtreet to Fourth ſtreet, and paſſed the houſe of Mr. Read, the father of my future wife. She was ſtanding at the door, obſerved me, and thought with reaſon that I made a very ſingular and groteſque appearance.

I then turned the corner, and went through Cheſnut-ſtreet, eating my roll all the way; and having made this round, I found myſelf again on Market-ſtreet wharf, near the boat in which I had arrived. I ſtepped into it to take a draught of the river water; and finding myſelf ſatisfied with my firſt roll, I gave the other two to a woman and her child, who had come down

down the river with us in the boat, and was waiting to continue her journey. Thus refreſhed, I regained the ſtreet, which was now full of well dreſſed people, all going the ſame way. I joined them, and was thus led to a large Quakers' meeting-houſe near the market place. I ſat down with the reſt, and after looking round me for ſome time hearing nothing ſaid, and being drowſy from my laſt night's labour and want of reſt, I fell into a ſound ſleep. In this ſtate I continued till the aſſembly diſperſed, when one of the congregation had the goodneſs to wake me. This was conſequently the firſt houſe I entered, or in which I ſlept at Philadelphia.

I began again to walk along the ſtreet by the river ſide; and looking attentively at the face of every one I met, I at length perceived a young quaker whoſe countenance pleaſed me. I accoſted him, and begged him to inform me where a ſtranger might find a lodging. We were then near the ſign of the Three Mariners. They receive travellers here, ſaid he, but it is not a houſe that bears a good character; if you will go with me, I will ſhew you a better one. He conducted me to the Crooked Billet in Water-ſtreet. There I ordered ſomething for dinner, and during my meal a number of curious queſtions were put to me; my youth and appearance exciting the ſuſpicion of my being a runaway. After dinner my drowſineſs returned, and I threw myſelf upon a bed without taking off my clothes, and ſlept till ſix o'clock in the evening, when I was called to ſupper. I afterwards went to bed at a very early hour, and did not awake till the next morning.

As ſoon as I got up I put myſelf in as decent a trim as I could, and went to the houſe of Andrew Bradford the printer. I found his father in the ſhop, whom I had ſeen at New-York. Having travelled on horſeback, he had arrived at Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his ſon, who received me with civility, and gave me ſome breakfaſt; but told me he had no occaſion for a journeyman, having lately procured

cured one. He added, that there was another printer newly settled in the town, of the name of Keimer, who might perhaps employ me; and that in case of a refusal, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work now and then, till something better should offer.

The old man offered to introduce me to the new printer. When we were at his house; "Neighbour," said he, "I bring you a young man in the printing business; perhaps you may have need of his services."

Keimer asked me some questions, put a composing stick in my hand to see how I could work, and then said, that at present he had nothing for me to do, but that he should soon be able to employ me. At the same time taking old Bradford for an inhabitant of the town well-disposed towards him, he communicated his project to him, and the prospect he had of success. Bradford was careful not to discover that he was the father of the other printer; and from what Keimer had said, that he hoped shortly to be in possession of the greater part of the business of the town, led him by artful questions, and by starting some difficulties, to disclose all his views, what his hopes were founded upon, and how he intended to proceed. I was present, and heard it all. I instantly saw that one of the two was a cunning old fox, and the other a perfect novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was strangely surprised when I informed him who the old man was.

I found Keimer's printing materials to consist of an old damaged press, and a small cast of worn-out English letters, with which he was himself at work upon an elogy on Aquilla Rose, whom I have mentioned above, an ingenious young man, and of an excellent character, highly esteemed in the town, secretary to the assembly, and a very tolerable poet. Keimer also made verses, but they were indifferent ones. He could not be said to write in verse, for his method was to take and set the lines as they flowed from his muse; and as he worked without copy, had but one set of letter cases, and the elogy would probably occupy all his type, it

was

was impoſſible for any one to aſſiſt him. I endeavoured to put his preſs in order, which he had not yet uſed, and of which indeed he underſtood nothing: and having promiſed to come and work off his elogy as ſoon as it ſhould be ready, I returned to the houſe of Bradford, who gave me ſome trifle to do for the preſent, for which I had my board and lodging.

In a few days Keimer ſent for me to print off his elogy. He had now procured another ſet of letter-caſes, and had a pamphlet to reprint, upon which he ſet me to work.

The two Philadelphia printers appeared deſtitute of every qualification neceſſary to their profeſſion. Bradford had not been brought up to it, and was very illiterate. Keimer, though he underſtood a little of the buſineſs, was merely a compoſitor, and wholly incapable of working at the preſs. He had one of the French prophets, and knew how to imitate their ſupernatural agitations. At the time of our firſt acquaintance he profeſſed no particular religion, but a little of all upon occaſion. He was totally ignorant of the world, and a great knave at heart, as I had afterwards an opportunity of experiencing.

Keimer could not endure that, working with him, I ſhould lodge at Bradford's. He had indeed a houſe, but it was unfurniſhed; ſo that he could not take me in. He procured me a lodging at Mr. Read's, his landlord, whom I have already mentioned. My trunk and effects being now arrived, I thought of making, in the eyes of Miſs Read, a more reſpectable appearance than when chance exhibited me to her view, eating my roll, and wandering in the ſtreets.

From this period I began to contract acquaintance with ſuch young people of the town as were fond of reading, and ſpent my evenings with them agreeably, while at the ſame time I gained money by my induſtry, and, thanks to my frugality, lived contented. I thus forgot Boſton as much as poſſible, and wiſhed every one to be ignorant of the place of my reſidence, except my friend Collins, to whom I wrote, and who kept my ſecret.

An

An incident however arrived, which ſent me home much ſooner than I had propoſed. I had a brother-in-law, of the name of Robert Holmes, maſter of a trading ſloop from Boſton to Delaware. Being at Newcaſtle, forty miles below Philadelphia, he heard of me, and wrote to inform me of the chagrin which my ſudden departure from Boſton had occaſioned my parents, and of the affection which they ſtill entertained for me, aſſuring me that, if I would return, every thing ſhould be adjuſted to my ſatisfaction; and he was very preſſing in his entreaties. I anſwered his letter, thanked him for his advice, and explained the reaſons which had induced me to quit Boſton, with ſuch force and clearneſs, that he was convinced I had been leſs to blame than he had imagined.

Sir William Keith, governor of the province, was at Newcaſtle at the time. Captain Holmes, being by chance in his company when he received my letter, took occaſion to ſpeak of me, and ſhewed it to him. The governor read it, and appeared ſurpriſed when he learned my age. He thought me, he ſaid, a young man of very promiſing talents, and that of conſequence I ought to be encouraged; that there were at Philadelphia none but very ignorant printers, and that, if I were to ſet up for myſelf, he had no doubt of my ſucceſs; that, for his own part, he would procure me all the public buſineſs, and would render me every other ſervice in his power. My brother-in-law related all this to me afterwards at Boſton; but I knew nothing of it at the time; when one day Keimer and I being at work together near the window, we ſaw the governor, and another gentleman, Col. French of Newcaſtle, handſomely dreſſed, croſs the ſtreet, and make directly for our houſe. We heard them at the door, and Keimer, believing it to be a viſit to himſelf, went immediately down: but the governor inquired for me, came up ſtairs, and, with a condeſcenſion and politeneſs to which I had not at all been accuſtomed, paid me many compliments, deſired to be acquainted with me, obligingly reproached me for not having made

myſelf

myſelf known to him on my arrival in the town, and wiſhed me to accompany him to a tavern, where he and Colonel French were going, to taſte ſome excellent Madeira wine.

I was, I confeſs ſomewhat ſurpriſed, and Keimer appeared thunderſtruck. I went however with the governor and the colonel to a tavern at the corner of Third-ſtreet, where, while we were drinking the Madeira, he propoſed to me to eſtabliſh a printing-houſe. He ſet forth the probabilities of ſucceſs, and himſelf and colonel French aſſured me that I ſhould have their protection and influence in obtaining the printing of the public papers of both governments; and as I appeared to doubt whether my father would aſſiſt me in this enterpriſe, Sir William ſaid that he would give me a letter to him, in which he would repreſent the advantages of the ſcheme, in a light which he had no doubt would determine him. It was thus concluded that I ſhould return to Boſton by the firſt veſſel, with the letter of recommendation from the governor to my father. Meanwhile the project was to be kept ſecret, and I continued to work for Keimer as before.

The governor ſent every now and then to invite me to dine with him. I conſidered this as a very great honor; and I was the more ſenſible of it, as he converſed with me in the moſt affable, familiar and friendly manner imaginable.

Towards the end of April 1724, a ſmall veſſel was ready to ſail for Boſton. I took leave of Keimer, upon the pretext of going to ſee my parents. The governor gave me a long letter, in which he ſaid many flattering things of me to my father; and ſtrongly recommended the project of my ſettling at Philadelphia, as a thing which could not fail to make my fortune.

Going down the bay we ſtruck on a flat, and ſprung a leak. The weather was very tempeſtuous, and we were obliged to pump without intermiſſion; I took my turn. We arrived however ſafe and ſound at Boſton, after about a fortnight's paſſage.

I had

I had been abſent ſeven complete months, and my relations during that interval, had received no intelligence of me; for my brother-in-law, Holmes, was not yet returned, and had not written about me. My unexpected appearance ſurpriſed the family; but they were all delighted at ſeeing me again, and, except my brother, welcomed me home. I went to him at the printing-office. I was better dreſſed than I had ever been while in his ſervice: I had a complete ſuit of clothes, new and neat, a watch in my pocket, and my purſe was furniſhed with nearly five pounds ſterling in money. He gave me no very civil reception, and having eyed me from head to foot, reſumed his work.

The workmen aſked me with eagerneſs where I had been, what ſort of a country it was, and how I liked it. I ſpoke in the higheſt terms of Philadelphia, the happy life we led there, and expreſſed my intention of going back again. One of them aſking what ſort of money we had, I diſplayed before them a handful or ſilver, which I drew from my pocket. This was a curioſity to which they were not accuſtomed, paper being the current money at Boſton. I failed not after this to let them ſee my watch; and at laſt, my brother continuing ſullen and out of humour, I gave them a ſhilling to drink, and took my leave. This viſit ſtung my brother to the ſoul; for when, ſhortly after my mother ſpoke to him of a reconciliation, and a deſire of ſeeing us upon good terms, he told her that I had ſo inſulted him before his men, that he would never forget or forgive it; in this, however, he was miſtaken.

The governor's letter appeared to excite in my father ſome ſurpriſe; but he ſaid little. After ſome days, Capt. Holmes being returned, he ſhewed it to him, aſking him if he knew Keith, and what ſort of a man he was: adding, that in his opinion, it proved very little diſcernment to think of ſetting up a boy in buſineſs, who for three years to come would not be of an age to be ranked in the claſs of men. Holmes ſaid every thing he could in favour of the ſcheme; but my

my father firmly maintained its abſurdity, and at laſt gave a poſitive refuſal. He wrote, however a civil letter to Sir William, thanking him for the protection he had ſo obligingly offered me, but refuſing to aſſiſt me for the preſent, becauſe he thought me too young to be entruſted with the conduct of ſo important an enterpriſe, and which would require ſo conſiderable a ſum of money.

My old comrade Collins, who was a clerk in the poſt-office, charmed with the account I gave of my new reſidence, expreſſed a deſire of going thither; and while I waited my father's determination, he ſet off before me, by land, for Rhode-Iſland, leaving his books, which formed a handſome collection in mathematics and natural philoſophy, to be conveyed with mine to New-York, where he purpoſed to wait for me.

My father, though he could not approve Sir William's propoſal, was yet pleaſed that I had obtained ſo advantageous a recommendation as that of a perſon of his rank, and that my induſtry and œconomy had enabled me to equip myſelf ſo handſomely in ſo ſhort a period. Seeing no appearance of accommodating matters between my brother and me, he conſented to my return to Philadelphia, adviſed me to be civil to every body, to endeavour to obtain general eſteem, and avoid ſatire and ſarcaſm, to which he thought I was too much inclined; adding, that, with perſeverance and prudent œconomy, I might by the time I became of age, ſave enough to eſtabliſh myſelf in buſineſs; and that if a ſmall ſum ſhould then be wanting, he would undertake to ſupply it.

This was all I could obtain from him, except ſome trifling preſents, in token of friendſhip from him and my mother. I embarked once more for New-York, furniſhed at this time with their approbation and bleſſing. The ſloop having touched at Newport in Rhode-Iſland, I paid a viſit to my brother John, who had for ſome years been ſettled there, and was married. He had always been attached to me, and received me with great

great affection. One of his friends, whose name was Vernon, having a debt of about thirty six pounds due to him in Pennsylvania, begged me to receive it for him, and keep the money till I should hear from him: accordingly he gave me an order for that purpose. This affair occasioned me, in the sequel, much uneasiness.

At Newport we took on board a number of passengers; among whom were two young women, and a grave and sensible quaker lady with her servants. I had shewn an obliging forwardness in rendering the quaker some trifling services, which led her probably, to feel some interest in my welfare; for when she saw a familiarity take place, and every day increase, between the two young women and me, she took me aside and said, "Young man I am in pain for thee. Thou hast no parent to watch over thy conduct, and thou seemest to be ignorant of the world, and the snares to which youth is exposed. Rely upon what I tell thee: those are women of bad characters; I perceive it in all their actions. If thou dost not take care, they will lead thee into danger. They are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, by the friendly interest I take in thy preservation, to form no connection with them." As I appeared at first not to think quite so ill of them as she did, she related many things she had seen and heard, which had escaped my attention, but which convinced me she was in the right. I thanked her for her obliging advice, and promised to follow it.

When we arrived at New-York, they informed me where they lodged, and invited me to come and see them. I did not however go, and it was well I did not; for the next day, the captain missing a silver spoon and some other things which had been taken from the cabin, and knowing these women to be prostitutes, procured a search warrant, found the stolen goods upon them, and had them punished. And thus after having been saved from one rock concealed under water, upon which the vessel struck during our passage,

ſage, I eſcaped another of a ſtill more dangerous nature.

At New-York I found my friend Collins, who had arrived ſome time before. We had been intimate from our infancy, and had read the ſame books together; and he had the advantage of being able to devote more time to reading and ſtudy, and an aſtoniſhing diſpoſition for mathematics, in which he left me far behind him. When at Boſton, I had been accuſtomed to paſs with him almoſt all my leiſure hours. He was then a ſober and induſtrious lad; his knowledge had gained him a very general eſteem, and he ſeemed to promiſe to make an advantageous figure in ſociety. But during my abſence, he had unfortunately addicted himſelf to brandy, and I learned, as well from himſelf as from the report of others, that every day ſince his arrival at New-York he had been intoxicated, and had acted in a very extravagant manner. He had alſo played, and loſt all his money; ſo that I was obliged to pay his expences at the inn, and to maintain him during the reſt of the journey; a burden that was very inconvenient to me.

The governor of New-York, whoſe name was Burnet, hearing the captain ſay that a young man who was a paſſenger in his ſhip had a great number of books, begged him to bring me to his houſe. I accordingly went and ſhould have taken Collins with me had he been ſober. The governor treated me with great civility, ſhewed me his library, which was a very conſiderable one, and we talked for ſome time upon books and authors. This was the ſecond governor who had honoured me with his attention; and to a poor boy, as I then was, theſe little adventures did not fail to be pleaſing.

We arrived at Philadelphia. On the way I received Vernon's money, without which we ſhould have been unable to have finiſhed our journey.

Collins wiſhed to get employment as a merchant's clerk; but either his breath or his countenance betrayed his bad habit; for though he had recommendations

he met with no ſucceſs, and continued to lodge and eat with me, and at my expence. Knowing that I had Vernon's money, he was continually aſking me to lend him ſome of it; promiſing to repay me as ſoon as he ſhould get employment. At laſt he had drawn ſo much of his money, that I was extremely alarmed at what might become of me, ſhould he fail to make good the deficiency. His habit of drinking did not all diminiſh, and was a frequent ſource of diſcord between us; for when he had drank a little too much, he was very headſtrong.

Being one day in a boat together, on the Delaware with ſome other young perſons, he refuſed to take his turn in rowing. You ſhall row for me, ſaid he, till we get home.—No, I replied, we will not row for you —You ſhall, ſaid he, or remain upon the water all night.—As you pleaſe.—Let us row, ſaid the reſt of the company; what ſignifies whether he aſſiſts or not. But, already angry with him for his conduct in other reſpects, I perſiſted in my refuſal. He then ſwore that he would make me row, or would throw me out of the boat; and he made up to me. As ſoon as he was within my reach I took him by the collar, gave him a violent thruſt, and threw him head-foremoſt into the river. I knew that he was a good ſwimmer, and was therefore under no apprehenſions for his life. Before he could turn himſelf we were able, by a few ſtrokes of our oars, to place ourſelves out of his reach; and whenever he touched the boat, we aſked him if he would row, ſtriking his hands with the oars to make him let go his hold. He was nearly ſuffocated with rage, but obſtinately refuſed making any promiſe to row. Perceiving at length that his ſtrength began to be exhauſted, we took him into the boat, and conveyed him home in the evening, completely drenched. The utmoſt coldneſs ſubſiſted between us after this adventure. At laſt a captain of a Weſt-India ſhip, who was commiſſioned to procure a tutor for the children of a gentleman at Barbadoes, meeting with Collins, offered him the place. He accepted it, and took

his

his leave of me, promising to discharge the debt he owed me with the first money he should receive; but I have heard nothing of him since.

The violation of the trust reposed in me by Vernon, was one of the first great errors of my life; and it proves that my father was not mistaken when he supposed me too young to be entrusted with the management of important affairs. But Sir William, upon reading his letter thought him too prudent. There was a difference, he said, between individuals: years of maturity were not always accompanied with discretion, neither was youth in every instance devoid of it. Since your father, added he will not set you up in business, I will do it myself. Make out a list of what will be wanted from England, and I will send for the articles. You shall repay me when you can. I am determined to have a good printer here, and I am sure you will succeed. This was said with so much seeming cordiality, that I suspected not for an instant the sincerity of the offer. I had hitherto kept the project with which Sir William had inspired me, of settling in business at Philadelphia, a secret, and I still continued to do so. Had my reliance on the governor been known, some friend, better acquainted with his character than myself, would doubtless have advised me not to trust him; for I afterwards learned that he was universally known to be liberal of promises, which he had no intention to perform. But having never solicited him, how could I suppose his offer to be deceitful? On the contrary I believed him to be the best man in the world.

I gave him an inventory of a small printing-office: the expence of which I had calculated at about a hundred pounds sterling. He expressed his approbation; but asked if my presence in England, that I might choose the characters myself, and see that every article was good in its kind, would not be an advantage. You will also be able, said he, to form some acquaintance there, and establish a correspondence with stationers and booksellers. This I acknowledged was desirable

ſirable. That being the caſe, added he, hold yourſelf in readineſs to go with the Annis. This was the annual veſſel, and the only one, at that time, which made regular voyages between the ports of London and Philadelphia. But the Annis was not to ſail for ſome months. I therefore continued to work with Keimer, unhappy reſpecting the ſum which Collins had drawn from me, and almoſt in continual agony at the thoughts of Vernon, who fortunately made no demand of his money till ſeveral years after.

In the account of my firſt voyage from Boſton to Philadelphia, I omitted I believe a trifling circumſtance, which will not perhaps be out of place here. During a calm that ſtopped us above Block-Iſland, the crew employed themſelves in fiſhing for cod, of which they caught a great number. I had hitherto adhered to my reſolution of not eating any thing that had poſſeſſed life; and I conſidered on this occaſion, agreeably to the maxims of my maſter Tryon, the capture of every fiſh as a ſort of murder, committed without provocation, ſince theſe animals had neither done, nor were capable of doing, the ſmalleſt injury to any one that ſhould juſtify the meaſure. This mode of reaſoning I conceived to be unanſwerable. Meanwhile I had formerly been extremely fond of fiſh; and when one of theſe cod was taken out of the frying-pan, I thought its flavour delicious. I heſitated ſome time between principle and inclination, till at laſt recollecting, that when the cod had been opened, ſome ſmall fiſh were found in its belly, I ſaid to myſelf if you eat one another. I ſee no reaſon why we may not eat you. I accordingly dined on the cod with no ſmall degree of pleaſure, and have ſince continued to eat like the reſt of mankind, returning only occaſionally to my vegetable plan. How convenient does it prove to be a *rational animal*, that knows how to find or invent a plauſible pretext for whatever it has an inclination to do!

I continued to live upon good terms with Keimer, who had not the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of my projected eſtabliſhment

bliſhment. He ſtill retained a portion of his former enthuſiaſm; and being fond of argument we frequently diſputed together. I was ſo much in the habit of uſing my Socratic method, and had ſo frequently puzzled him by my queſtions, which appeared at firſt very diſtant from the point in debate, yet nevertheleſs led to it by degrees, involving him in difficulties and contradictions from which he was unable to extricate himſelf, that he became at laſt ridiculouſly cautious, and would ſcarcely anſwer the moſt plain and familiar queſtion without previouſly aſking me—What would you infer from that? Hence he formed ſo high an opinion of my talents for refutation, that he ſeriouſly propoſed to me to become his colleague in the eſtabliſhment of a new religious ſect. He was to propagate the doctrine by preaching, and I to refute every opponent.

When he explained to me his tenets, I found many abſurdities which I refuſed to admit, unleſs he would agree in turn to adopt ſome of my opinions. Keimer wore his beard long, Becauſe Moſes had ſomewhere ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not mar the corners of thy beard.* He likewiſe obſerves the Sabbath; and theſe were with him two very eſſential points, I diſliked them both; but I conſented to adopt them, provided he would abſtain from animal food. I doubt, ſaid he, whether my conſtitution will be able to ſupport it. I aſſured him on the contrary, that he would find himſelf the better for it. He was naturally a glutton, and I wiſhed to amuſe myſelf by ſtarving him. He conſented to make trial of this regimen, if I would bear him company; and in reality we continued it for three months. A woman in the neighbourhood prepared and brought us our victuals, to whom I gave a liſt of forty diſhes; in the compoſition of which there entered neither fleſh nor fiſh. This fancy was the more agreeable to me, as it turned to good account; for the whole expence of our living did not exceed for each eighteen-pence a week.

I have ſince that period obſerved ſeveral Lents with the greateſt ſtrictneſs, and have ſuddenly returned again to my ordinary diet, without experiencing the ſmalleſt inconvenience;

inconvencience ; which has led me to regard as of no importance the advice commonly given of introducing gradually ſuch alterations of regimen.

I continued it cheerfully ; but poor Keimer ſuffered terribly. Tired of the project, he ſighed for the fleſh pots of Egypt. At length he ordered a roaſt pig, and invited me and two of our female acquaintance to dine with him ; but the pig being ready a little too ſoon, he could not reſiſt the temptation, and eat it all up before we arrived.

During the circumſtances I have related, I had paid ſome attention to Miſs Read. I entertained for her the utmoſt eſteem and affection ; and I had reaſon to believe that theſe ſentiments were mutual. But we were both young, ſcarcely more than eighteen years of age ; and as I was on the point of undertaking a long voyage, her mother thought it prudent to prevent matters being carried too far for the preſent, judging that if marriage was our object, there would be more propriety in it after my return, when, as at leaſt I expected, I ſhould be eſtabliſhed in my buſineſs. Perhaps alſo ſhe thought that my expectations were not ſo well-founded as I imagined.

My moſt intimate acquaintance at this time were Charles Oſborne, Joſeph Watſon, and James Ralph ; young men who were all fond of reading. The two firſt were clerks to Mr. Charles Brockdon, one of the principal attornies in the town, and the other clerk to a merchant. Watſon was an upright, pious and ſenſible young man : the others were ſomewhat more looſe in their principles of religion, particularly Ralph, whoſe faith, as well as that of Collins, I had contributed to ſhake ; each of whom made me ſuffer a very adequate puniſhment. Oſborne was ſenſible, and ſincere and affectionate in his friendſhips, but too much inclined to the critic in matters of literature. Ralph was ingenious and ſhrewd, genteel in his addreſs, and extremely eloquent. I do not remember to have met with a more agreeable ſpeaker. They were both enamcured

moured of the muſes, and had already evinced their paſſion by ſome ſmall poetical productions.

It was a cuſtom with us to take a charming walk on Sundays, in the woods that border on the Schuylkill. Here we read together, and afterwards converſed on what we read. Ralph was diſpoſed to give himſelf up entirely to poetry. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould arrive at great eminence in the art, and even acquire a fortune. The ſublimeſt poets, he pretended, when they firſt began to write, committed as many faults as himſelf. Oſborne endeavoured to diſſuade him from it, by aſſuring him that he had no genius for poetry, and adviſed him to ſtick to the trade, in which he had been brought up. In the road of commerce, ſaid he, you will be ſure, by diligence and aſſiduity, though you have no capital, of ſo far ſucceeding as to be employed as a factor, and may thus, in time, acquire the means of ſetting up for yourſelf. I concurred in theſe ſentiments, but at the ſame time expreſſed my approbation of amuſing ourſelves ſometimes with poetry, with a view to improve our ſtyle. In conſequence of this it was propoſed, that, at our next meeting, each of us ſhould bring a copy of verſes of his own compoſition. Our object in this competition was to benefit each other by our mutual remarks, criticiſms, and corrections; and as ſtyle and expreſſion were all we had in view, we excluded every idea of invention, by agreeing that our taſk ſhould be a verſion of the eighteenth Pſalm, in which is deſcribed the deſcent of the Deity.

The time of our meeting drew near, when Ralph called upon me, and told me his piece was ready. I informed him that I had been idle, and, not much liking the taſk, had done nothing. He ſhewed me his piece, and aſked what I thought of it. I expreſſed myſelf in terms of warm approbation; becauſe it really appeared to have conſiderable merit. He then ſaid, Oſborne will never acknowledge the ſmalleſt degree of excellence in any production of mine. Envy alone dictates

tates to him a thouſand animadverſions. Of you he is not ſo jealous. I wiſh therefore you would take the verſes, and produce them as your own. I will pretend not to have had leiſure to write any thing. We ſhall then ſee in what manner he will ſpeak of them. I agreed to this little artifice, and immediately tranſcribed the verſes to prevent all ſuſpicion.

We met. Watſon's performance was the firſt that was read. It had ſome beauties, but many faults. We next read Oſborne's, which was much better. Ralph did it juſtice, remarking a few imperfections, and applauding ſuch parts as were excellent. He had himſelf nothing to ſhow. It was now my turn. I made ſome difficulty; ſeemed as if I wiſhed to be excuſed; pretended that I had had no time to make corrections, &c. No excuſe, however, was admiſſible, and the piece muſt be produced. It was read and re-read. Watſon and Oſborne immediately reſigned the palm, and united in applauding it. Ralph alone made a few remarks, and propoſed ſome alterations; but I defended my text. Oſborne agreed with me, and told Ralph he was no more able to criticiſe than he was able to write.

When Oſborne was alone with me, he expreſſed himſelf ſtill more ſtrongly in favour of what he conſidered as my performance. He pretended that he had put ſome reſtraint on himſelf before, apprehenſive of my conſtruing his commendation into flattery. But who would have ſuppoſed, ſaid he, Franklin to be capable of ſuch a compoſition? What painting, what energy, what fire! He has ſurpaſſed the original. In his common converſation he appears not to have choice of words; he heſitates, and is at a loſs; and yet, good God how he writes!

At our next meeting Ralph diſcovered the trick we had played Oſborne, who was rallied without mercy.

By this adventure Ralph was fixed in his reſolution of becoming a poet. I left nothing unattempted to divert him from his purpoſe; but he perſevered, till at laſt

laſt the reading of Pope* effected his cure: he became, however a very tolerable proſe writer. I ſhall ſpeak more of him hereafter; but as I ſhall probably have no farther occaſion to mention the other two, I ought to obſerve here, that Watſon died a few years after in my arms. He was greatly regretted; for he was the beſt of our ſociety. Oſborne went to the iſlands, where he gained conſiderable reputation as a barriſter, and was getting money; but he died young. We had ſeriouſly engaged, that whoever died firſt ſhould return if poſſible, and pay a friendly viſit to the ſurvivor, to give him an account of the other world; but he has never fulfilled his engagement.

The governor appeared to be fond of my company, and frequently invited me to his houſe. He always ſpoke of his intention of ſettling me in buſineſs, as a point that was decided. I was to take with me letters of recommendation to a number of friends; and particularly a letter of credit, in order to obtain the neceſſary ſum for the purchaſe of my preſs, types and paper. He appointed various times for me to come for theſe letters, which would certainly be ready; and when I came, always put me off to another day.

Theſe ſucceſſive delays continued till the veſſel whoſe departure had been ſeveral times deferred, was on the point of ſetting ſail: when I again went to Sir William's houſe, to receive my letters, and take leave of him. I ſaw his ſecretary, Dr. Bard, who told me that the governor was extremely buſy writing, but that he would be down at Newcaſtle before the veſſel, and that the letters would be delivered to me there.

Ralph, though he was married and had a child, determined to accompany me in this voyage. His object was

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* *Probably the Dunciad, where we find him thus immortalized by the author:*

Silence, ye wolves, while RALPH *to Cynthia howls,*
And makes night hideous; answer him, ye owls!

was ſuppoſed to be the eſtabliſhing a correſpondence with ſome mercantile houſes, in order to ſell goods by commiſſion; but I afterwards learned, that having reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the parents of his wife, he propoſed to himſelf to leave her on their hands and never return to America again.

Having taken leave of my friends, and interchanged promiſes of fidelity with Miſs Read, I quitted Philadelphia. At Newcaſtle the veſſel came to anchor. The governor was arrived, and I went to his lodgings. His ſecretary received me with great civility, told me on the part of the governor that he could not ſee me then, as he was engaged in affairs of the utmoſt importance, but that he would ſend the letters on board, and that he wiſhed me with all his heart, a good voyage and ſpeedy return. I returned ſomewhat aſtoniſhed to the ſhip, but ſtill without entertaining the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion.

Mr. Hamilton, a celebrated barriſter of Philadelphia, had taken a paſſage to England for himſelf and his ſon, and, in conjunction with Mr. Denham a quaker, and Meſſrs. Oniam and Ruſſel, proprietors of a forge in Maryland, had agreed for the whole cabin, ſo that Ralph and I were obliged to take up our lodging with the crew. Being unknown to every body in the ſhip, we were looked upon as the common order of people: but Mr. Hamilton and his ſon (it was James, who was afterwards governor) left us at Newcaſtle, and returned to Philadelphia, where he was recalled, at a very great expence, to plead the cauſe of a veſſel that had been ſeized; and juſt as we were about to ſail, colonel French came on board, and ſhewed me many civilities. The paſſengers upon this paid me more attention, and I was invited, together with my friend Ralph, to occupy the place in the cabin which the return of the Mr. Hamiltons had made vacant; an offer which we very readily accepted.

Having learned that the diſpatches of the governor had been brought on board by colonel French. I aſked the captain for the letters that were to be entruſted

to

to my care. He told me that they were all put together in the bag, which he could not open at preſent; but before we reached England, he would give me an opportunity of taking them out. I was ſatisfied with this anſwer, and we purſued our voyage.

The company in the cabin were all very ſociable, and we were perfectly well off as to proviſions, as we had the advantage of the whole of Mr. Hamilton's, who had laid in a very plentiful ſtock. During the paſſage Mr. Denham contracted a friendſhip for me, which ended only with his life: in other reſpects the voyage was by no means an agreeable one, as we had much bad weather.

When we arrived in the river, the captain was as good as his word, and allowed me to ſearch the bag for the governor's letters. I could not find a ſingle one with my name written on it, as committed to my care; but I ſelected ſix or ſeven, which I judged from the direction to be thoſe that were intended for me; particularly one to Mr. Baſket the king's printer, and another to a ſtationer, who was the firſt perſon I called upon. I delivered him the letter as coming from governor Keith. "I have no acquaintance (ſaid he) "with any ſuch perſon;" and opening the letter, "Oh "it is from Riddleſden!" he exclaimed. "I have "lately diſcovered him to be a very arrant knave, and "I wiſh to have nothing to do either with him or his "letters." He inſtantly put the letter in my hand, turned upon his heel, and left me to ſerve ſome cuſtomers.

I was aſtoniſhed at finding theſe letters were not from the governor. Reflecting, and putting circumſtances together, I then began to doubt his ſincerity. I rejoined my friend Denham, and related the whole affair to him. He let me at once into Keith's character, told me there was not the leaſt probability of his having written a ſingle letter; that no one who knew him ever placed any reliance on him, and laughed at my credulity, in ſuppoſing that the governor would give me a letter of credit, when he had no credit for himſelf.

himſelf. As I ſhewed ſome uneaſineſs reſpecting what ſtep I ſhould take, he adviſed me to try to get employment in the houſe of ſome printer. You may there, ſaid he, improve yourſelf in buſineſs, and you will be able to ſettle yourſelf the more advantageouſly when you return to America.

We knew already, as well as the ſtationer, attorney Riddleſden to be a knave. He had nearly ruined the father of Mrs. Read, by drawing him in to be his ſecurity. We learned from his letter that he was ſecretly carrying on an intrigue, in concert with the governor, to the prejudice of Mr. Hamilton, who it was ſuppoſed would by this time be in Europe. Denham, who was Hamilton't friend, was of opinion that he ought to be made acquainted with it; and in reality, the inſtant he arrived in England, which was very ſoon after, I waited on him, and, as much from goodwill to him as from reſentment againſt the governor, put the letter into his hands. He thanked me very ſincerely, the information it contained being of conſequence to him; and from that moment beſtowed on me his friendſhip, which afterwards proved on many occaſions ſerviceable to me.

But what are we to think of a governor who could play ſo ſcurvy a trick, and thus groſsly deceive a poor young lad, wholly deſtitute of experience? It was a practice with him. Wiſhing to pleaſe every body, and having little to beſtow, he was laviſh of promiſes. He was in other reſpects ſenſible and judicious, a very tolerable writer, and a good governor for the people; though not ſo for the proprietaries, whoſe inſtructions he frequently diſregarded. Many of our beſt laws were his work, and eſtabliſhed during his adminiſtration.

Ralph and I were inſeparable companions. We took a lodging together at three-and-ſixpence a week, which was as much as we could afford. He met with ſome relation in London, but they were poor, and not able to aſſiſt him. He now, for the firſt time, informed me of his intention to remain in England, and that

that he had no thoughts of ever returning to Philadelphia. He was totally without money; the little he had been able to raiſe having barely ſufficed for his paſſage. I had ſtill fifteen piſtoles remaining; and to me he had from time to time recourſe, while he tried to get employment.

At firſt believing himſelf poſſeſſed of talents for the ſtage he thought of turning actor; but Wilkes, to whom he applied, frankly adviſed him to renounce the idea, as it was impoſſible to ſucceed. He next propoſed to Roberts, a bookſeller in Paternoſter-Row, to write a weekly paper in the manner of the ſpectator, upon terms, to which Roberts would not liſten. Laſtly he endeavoured to procure employment as a copyiſt, and applied to the lawyers and ſtationers about the Temple; but he could find no vacancy.

As to myſelf I immediately got engaged at Palmer's, at that time a noted printer in Bartholomew Cloſe, with whom I continued nearly a year. I applied very aſſiduouſly to my work; but I expended with Ralph almoſt all that I earned. Plays and other places of amuſement which we frequented together, having exhauſted my piſtoles, we lived after this from hand to mouth. He appeared to have entirely forgotten his wife and child, as I alſo by degrees forgot my engagements with Miſs Read, to whom I never wrote more than one letter, and that merely to inform her that I was not likely to return ſoon. This was another grand error of my life, which I ſhould be deſirous of correcting were I to begin my career again.

I was employed at Palmer's on the ſecond edition of Woolaſton's Religion of Nature. Some of his arguments appearing to me not to be well founded, I wrote a ſmall metaphyſical treatiſe, in which I animadverted on thoſe paſſages. It was entitled a Diſſertation on Liberty and neceſſity, Pleaſure and Pain. I dedicated it to my friend Ralph, and printed a ſmall number of copies. Palmer upon this treated me with more conſideration, and regarded me as a young man of talents; though

though he ſeriouſly took me to taſk for the principles of my pamphlet, which he looked upon as abominable. The printing of this book was another error of my life.

While I lodged in Little Britain I formed acquaintance with a bookſeller of the name of Wilcox, whoſe ſhop was next door to me. Circulating libraries were not then in uſe. He had an immenſe collection of books of all ſorts. We agreed that, for a reaſonable retribution, of which I have nôw forgotten the price, I ſhould have free acceſs to his library, and take what books I pleaſed, which I was to return when I had read them. I conſidered this agreement as a very great advantage; and I derived from it as much benefit as was in my power.

My pamphlet falling into the hand of a ſurgeon, of the name of Lyons, author of a book entitled Infallibility of Human Judgment, was the occaſion of a conſiderable intimacy between us. He expreſſed great eſteem for me, came frequently to ſee me, in order to converſe upon metaphyſical ſubjects, and introduced me to Dr. Mandevill, author of the Fable of Bees, who who had inſtituted a club at a tavern in Cheapſide, of which he was the ſoul: he was a facetious and very amuſing character. He alſo introduced me, at Baſton's coffee-houſe, to Dr. Pemberton who promiſed to give me an opportunity of ſeeing Sir Iſaac Newton, which I very ardently deſired; But he never kept his word.

I had brought ſome curioſities with me from America; the principal of which was a purſe made of aſbeſtos, which fire only purifies. Sir Hans Sloane hearing of it, called upon me, and invited me to his houſe in Bloomſbury ſquare, where, after ſhowing me every thing that was curious, he prevailed on me to add this piece to his collection; for which he paid me very handſomely.

There lodged in the ſame houſe with us a young woman, a milliner, who had a ſhop by the ſide of the exchange. Lively and ſenſible, and having received

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an education somewhat above her rank, her conversation was very agreeable. Ralph read plays to her every evening. They became intimate. She took another lodging, and he followed her. They lived for some time together; but Ralph being without employment, she having a child, and the profits of her business not sufficing for the maintenance of three, he resolved to quit London and try a country school. This was a plan in which he thought himself likely to succeed, as he wrote a fine hand and was versed in arithmetic and accounts. But considering the office as beneath him, and expecting some day to make a better figure in the world, when he should be ashamed of its being known that he had exercised a profession so little honorable, he changed his name and did me the honour of assuming mine. He wrote to me soon after his departure, informing me that he was settled at a small village in Berkshire. In his letter he recommended Mrs. T***, the milliner to my care, and requested an answer, directed to Mr. Franklin, schoolmaster at N***.

He continued to write to me frequently, sending me large fragments of an epic poem he was composing, and which he requested me to criticise and correct. I did so, but not without endeavouring to prevail on him to renounce this pursuit. Young had just published one on his Satires. I copied and sent him a great part of it; in which the author demonstrates the folly of cultivating the Muses, from the hope, by their instrumentality, of rising in the world. It was all to no purpose; paper after paper of his poem continued to arrive every post.

Meanwhile Mrs. T*** having lost, on his account, both her friends and her business, was frequently in distress. In this dilemma she had recourse to me; and to extricate her from her difficulties, I lent her all the money I could spare. I felt a little too much fondness for her. Having at that time no ties of religion, and taking advantage of her necessitous situation, I attempted liberties (another error of my life) which she repelled

repelled with becoming indignation. She informed Ralph of my conduct; and the affair occasioned a breach between us. When he returned to London, he gave me to understand that he considered all the obligations he owed me as annihilated by this proceeding; whence I concluded that I was never to expect the payment of what money I had lent him, or advanced on his account. I was the less afflicted at this, as he was unable to pay me; and as, by losing his friendship, I was relieved at the same time from a very heavy burden.

I now began to think of laying by some money. The printing-house of Watts, near Lincoln's Inn-Fields, being a still more considerable one than that in which I worked, it was probable I might find it more advantageous to be employed there. I offered myself, and was accepted; and in this house I continued during the remainder of my stay in London.

On my entrance I worked at first as a pressman conceiving that I had need of bodily exercise, to which I had been accustomed in America, where the printers work alternately as compositors and at the press. I drank nothing but water. The other workmen, to the number of about fifty, were great drinkers of beer. I carried occasionally a large form of letters in each hand, up and down stairs, while the rest employed both hands to carry one. They were surprised to see, by this and many other examples, that the *American Aquatic*, as they used to call me, was stronger than those who drank porter. The beer boy had sufficient employment during the whole day in serving that house alone. My fellow-pressmen drank every day a pint of beer before breakfast, a pint with bread and cheese for breakfast, one between breakfast and dinner, one at dinner, one again about six o'clock in the afternoon, and another after he had finished his day's work. This custom appeared to me abominable; but he had need, he said, of all this beer, in order to acquire strength to work.

I endeavoured to convince him that bodily strength furnished by the beer, could only be in proportion to the

the ſolid part of the barley diſſolved in the water of which the beer was compoſed; that there was a larger portion of flour in a penny loaf, and that conſequently if he eat this loaf, and drank a pint of water with it, he would derive more ſtrength from it than from a pint of beer. This reaſoning, however, did not prevent him from drinking his accuſtomed quantity of beer, and paying every Saturday night a ſcore of four or five ſhillings a week for this curſed beverage; an expence from which I was wholly exempt. Thus do theſe poor devils continue all their lives in a ſtate of voluntary wretchedneſs and poverty.

At the end of a few weeks, Watts having occaſion for me above ſtairs as a compoſitor, I quitted the preſs. The compoſitors demanded of me garniſh money afreſh. This I conſidered as an impoſition, having already paid below. The maſter was of the ſame opinion, and deſired me not to comply. I thus remained two or three weeks out of the fraternity. I was conſequently looked upon as excommunicated; and whenever I was abſent, no little trick that malice could ſuggeſt was left unpractiſed upon me. I found my letters mixed, my pages tranſpoſed, my matter broken, &c. &c. all which was attributed to the ſpirit that haunted the chapel,* and tormented thoſe who were not regularly admitted. I was at laſt obliged to ſubmit to pay notwithſtanding the protection of the maſter; convinced of the folly of not keeping up a good underſtanding with thoſe among whom we are deſtined to live.

After this I lived in the utmoſt harmony with my fellow-labourers, and ſoon acquired conſiderable influence among them. I propoſed ſome alterations in the laws of the chapel, which I carried without oppoſition. My example prevailed with ſeveral of them to renounce their abominable practice of bread and cheeſe with beer;

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* *Printing houſes in general are thus denominated by the workmen; the* ſpirit *they call by the name of* Ralph.

beer; and they procured, like me, from a neighbouring houſe, a good baſon of warm gruel, in which was a ſmall ſlice of butter, with toaſted bread and nutmeg. This was a much better breakfaſt, which did not coſt more than a pint of beer, namely, three-halfpence, and at the ſame time preſerved the head clearer. Thoſe who continued to gorge themſelves with beer, often loſt their credit with the publican, from neglecting to pay their ſcore. They had then recourſe to me, to become ſecurity for them; *their light*, as they uſed to call it, *being out*. I attended at the pay-table every Saturday evening, to take up the little ſum which I had made myſelf anſwerable for; and which ſometimes amounted to nearly thirty ſhillings a week.

This circumſtance, added to my reputation of being a tolerable good *gabber*, or, in other words, ſkilful in the art of burleſque, kept up my importance in the chapel. I had beſides recommended myſelf to the eſteem of my maſter by my aſſiduous application to buſineſs never obſerving Saint Monday. My extraordinary quickneſs in compoſing always procured me ſuch work as was moſt urgent, and which is commonly beſt paid; and thus my time paſſed away in a very pleaſant manner.

My lodging in Little Britain being too far from the printing-houſe, I took another in Duke ſtreet, oppoſite the Roman Chapel. It was at the back of an Italian warehouſe. The houſe was kept by a widow, who had a daughter, a ſervant, and a ſhop boy; but the latter ſlept out of the houſe. After ſending to the people with whom I had lodged in Little Britain, to enquire into my character, ſhe agreed to take me in at the ſame price, three and ſixpence a week; contenting herſelf, ſhe ſaid, with ſo little, becauſe of the ſecurity ſhe would derive, as they were all women, from having a man lodge in the houſe.

She was a woman rather advanced in life, the daughter of a clergyman. She had been educated a Proteſtant; but her huſband, whoſe memory ſhe highly revered, had converted her to the Catholic religion. She

She had lived in habits of intimacy with perſons of diſtinction; of whom ſhe knew various anecdotes as far back as the time of Charles II. Being ſubject to fits of the gout which often confined her to her room, ſhe was ſometimes diſpoſed to ſee company. Her's was ſo amuſing to me that I was glad to paſs the evening with her as often as ſhe deſired it. Our ſupper conſiſted only of half an anchovy a-piece, upon a ſlice of bread and butter, with half a pint of ale between us. But the entertainment was in her converſation.

The early hours I kept, and the little trouble I occaſioned in the family, made her loath to part with me; and when I mentioned another lodging I had found, nearer the printing-houſe, at two ſhillings a week, which fell in with my plan of ſaving, ſhe perſuaded me to give it up, making herſelf an abatement of two ſhillings; and thus I continued to lodge with her, during the remainder of my abode in London, at eighteen pence a week.

In the garret of the houſe there lived, in the moſt retired manner, a lady ſeventy years of age, of whom I received the following account from my landlady. She was a Roman Chatholic. In her early years ſhe had been ſent to the continent, and entered a convent with the deſign of becoming a nun; but the climate not agreeing with her conſtitution, ſhe was obliged to return to England, where, as there was no monaſteries, ſhe made a vow to lead a monaſtic life, in as rigid a manner as circumſtances would permit. She accordingly diſpoſed of all her property, to be applied to charitable uſes, reſerving to herſelf only twelve pounds a year; and of this ſmall pittance ſhe gave a part to the poor, living on water-gruel, and never making uſe of fire but to boil it. She had lived in this garret a great many years, without paying rent to the ſucceſſive Catholic inhabitants that had kept the houſe; who indeed conſidered her abode with them as a bleſſing. A prieſt came every day to confeſs her. I have aſked her, ſaid my landlady, how, living as ſhe did, ſhe could find ſo much employment for a confeſſor? To which ſhe anſwered, that it was impoſſible to avoid vain thoughts.

I was

I was once permitted to visit her. She was cheerful and polite, and her conversation agreeable. Her apartment was neat; but the whole furniture consisted of a mattrass, a table, on which were a crucifix and book, a chair, which she gave me to sit on, and over the mantle-piece a picture of St. Veronica, displaying her handkerchief, on which was seen the miraculous impression of the face of Christ, which she explained to me with great gravity. Her countenance was pale, but she had never experienced sickness; and I may adduce her as another proof how little is sufficient to maintain life and health.

At the printing-house I contracted an intimacy with a sensible young man of the name of Wygate, who, as his parents were in good circumstances, had received a better education than is common among printers. He was a tolerable Latin scholar, spoke French fluently, and was fond of reading. I taught him, as well as a friend of his, to swim, by taking them twice only into the river; after which they stood in need of no farther assistance. We one day made a party to go by water to Chelsea, in order to see the College, and Don Soltero's curiosities. On our return, at the request of the company, whose curiosity Wygate had excited, I undressed myself and leaped into the river. I swam from near Chelsea the whole way to Blackfriars Bridge, exhibiting during my course, a variety of feats of activity and address, both upon the surface of the water, as well as under it. This sight occasioned much astonishment and pleasure to those to whom it was new. In my youth I took great delight in this exercise. I knew, and could execute, all the evolutions and positions of Thevenot; and I added to them some of my own invention, in which I endeavoured to unite gracefulness and utility. I took a pleasure in displaying them all on this occasion, and was highly flattered with the admiration they excited.

Wygate besides his being desirous of perfecting himself in this art, was the more attached to me from their being, in other respects, a conformity in our tastes and studies

ſtudies. He at length propoſed to me to make the tour of Europe with him, maintaining ourſelves at the ſame time by working at our profeſſion. I was on the point of conſenting, when I mentioned it to my friend Denham, with whom I was glad to paſs an hour whenever I had leiſure. He diſſuaded me from the project, and adviſed me to return to Philadelphia, which he was about to do himſelf. I muſt relate in this place a trait of this worthy man's character.

He had formerly been in buſineſs at Briſtol, but failing, he compounded with his creditors, and departed for America, where, by aſſiduous application as a merchant, he acquired in a few years a very conſiderable fortune. Returning to England in the ſame veſſel with myſelf, as I have related above, he invited all his old creditors to a feaſt. When aſſembled, he thanked them for the readineſs with which they had received his ſmall compoſition; and, while they expected nothing more than a ſimple entertainment, each found under his plate when it came to be removed, a draft upon a banker for the reſidue of his debt with intereſt.

He told me it was his intention to carry back with him to Philadelphia a great quantity of goods, in order to open a ſtore; and he offered to take me with him in the capacity of clerk, to keep his books, in which he would inſtruct me, copy letters, and ſuperintend the ſtore. He added, that, as ſoon as I had acquired a knowledge of mercantile tranſactions, he would improve my ſituation, in ſending me with a cargo of corn and flour to the American iſlands, and by procuring me other lucrative commiſſions: ſo that, with good management and œconomy, I might in time begin buſineſs with advantage for myſelf.

I reliſhed theſe propoſals. London began to tire me; the agreeable hours I had paſſed at Philadelphia preſented themſelves to my mind, and I wiſhed to ſee them revive. I conſequently engaged myſelf to Mr. Denham, at a ſalary of fifty pounds a year. This was indeed leſs than I earned as a compoſitor, but then I had

had a much fairer prospect. I took leave, therefore, as I believed forever, of printing, and gave myself up entirely to my new occupation, spending all my time either in going from house to house with Mr. Denham to purchase goods, or in packing them up, or in expediting the workmen, &c. &c. When every thing however was on board, I had at last a few days leisure.

During this interval, I was one day sent for by a gentleman, whom I knew only by name. It was Sir William Wyndham. I went to his house. He had by some means heard of my performances between Chelsea and Blackfriars, and that I had taught the art of swimming to Wygate and another young man in the course of a few hours. His two sons were on the point of setting out on their travels; he was desirous that they should previously learn to swim, and offered me a very liberal reward if I would undertake to instruct them. They were not yet arrived in town, and the stay I should make myself was uncertain; I could not therefore accept his proposal. I was led however to suppose from this incident, that if I had wished to remain in London and open a swimming-school I should perhaps have gained a great deal of money. This idea struck me so forcibly, that, had the offer been made sooner, I should have dismissed the thought of returning as yet to America. Some years after, you and I had a more important business to settle with one of the sons of Sir William Wyndham, then Lord Egremont. But let us not anticipate events.

I thus passed about eighteen months in London, working almost without intermission at my trade, avoiding all expence on my own account, except going now and then to the play and purchasing a few books. But my friend Ralph kept me poor. He owed me about twenty-seven pounds, which was so much money lost; and when considered as taken from my little savings, was a very great sum. I had notwithstanding this a regard for him, as he possessed many amiable qualities. But though I had done nothing for myself

myself in point of fortune, I had increased my stock of knowledge, either by the many excellent books I had read, or the conversation of learned and literary persons with whom I was acquainted.

We sailed from Gravesend the 23d of July 1726. For the incidents of my voyage I refer you to my Journal, where you will find all the circumstances minutely related. We landed at Philadelphia on the 11th of the following October.

Keith had been deprived of his office of governor, and was succeeded by Major Gordon. I met him walking in the streets as a private individual. He appeared a little ashamed at seeing me, but passed on without saying any thing.

I should have been equally ashamed myself at meeting Miss Read, had not her family, justly despairing of my return after reading my letter, advised her to give me up, and marry a potter, of the name of Rogers; to which she consented: but he never made her happy, and she soon separated from him, refusing to cohabit with him, or even bear his name, on account of a report which prevailed, of his having another wife. His skill in his profession had seduced Miss Read's parents; but he was as bad a subject as he was excellent as a workman. He involved himself in debt, and fled, in the year 1727 or 1728, to the West Indies, where he died.

During my absence Keimer had taken a more considerable house, in which he kept a shop, that was well supplied with paper, and various other articles. He had procured some new types, and a number of workmen; among whom, however there was not one who was good for any thing; and he appeared not to want business.

Mr. Denham took a warehouse in Water-street, where we exhibited our commodities. I applied myself closely, studied accounts, and became in a short time very expert in trade. We lodged and eat together. He was sincerely attached to me, and acted towards me as if he had been my father. On my side, I respected

ſpected and loved him. My ſituation was happy; but it was a happineſs of no long duration.

Early in February 1727, when I entered into my twenty-ſecond year, we were both taken ill. I was attacked with a pleuriſy, which had nearly carried me off; I ſuffered terribly, and conſidered it as all over with me. I felt indeed a ſort of diſappointment when I found myſelf likely to recover, and regretted that I had ſtill to experience, ſooner or later, the ſame diſagreeable ſcene again.

I have forgotten what was Mr. Denham's diſorder; but it was a tedious one, and he at laſt ſunk under it. He left me a ſmall legacy in his will, as a teſtimony of his friendſhip; and I was once more abandoned to myſelf in the wide world, the warehouſe being confided to the care of the teſtamentary executor, who diſmiſſed me.

My brother-in-law, Holmes, who happened to be at Philadelphia, adviſed me to return to my former profeſſion; and Keimer offered me a very conſiderable ſalary if I would undertake the management of his printing-office, that he might devote himſelf entirely to the ſuperintendance of his ſhop. His wife and relations in London had given me a bad character of him; and I was loath, for the preſent, to have any concern with him. I endeavoured to get employment as a clerk to a merchant; but not readily finding a ſituation, I was induced to accept Keimer's propoſal.

The following were the perſons I found in his printing-houſe:

Hugh Meredith a Pennſylvanian, about thirty-five years of age. He had been brought up to huſbandry, was honeſt, ſenſible, had ſome experience, and was fond of reading; but too much addicted to drinking.

Stephen Potts, a young ruſtic, juſt broke from ſchool, and of ruſtic education, with endowments rather above the common order, and a competent portion of underſtanding and gaiety; but little idle. Keimer had engaged theſe two at very low wages, which he had promiſed to raiſe every three months a ſhilling a week, provided

provided their improvement in the typographical art ſhould merit it. This future increaſe of wages was the bait he made uſe of to enſnare them. Meredith was to work at the preſs, and Potts to bind books, which he had engaged to teach them, though he underſtood neither himſelf.

John Savage, an Iriſhman, who had been brought up to no trade, and whoſe ſervice, for a period of four years, Keimer had purchaſed of the captain of a ſhip. He was alſo to be a preſſman.

George Webb an Oxford ſcholar, whoſe time he had in like manner bought for four years, intending him for a compoſitor. I ſhall ſpeak more of him preſently.

Laſtly, David Harry, a country lad, who was apprenticed to him.

I ſoon perceived that Keimer's intention, in engaging me at a price ſo much above what he was accuſtomed to give, was, that might form all theſe raw journeymen and apprentices, who ſcarcely coſt him any thing, and who, being indentured, would as ſoon as they ſhould be ſufficiently inſtructed, enabled him to do without me. I nevertheleſs adhered to my agreement. I put the office in order, which was in the utmoſt confuſion, and brought his people by degrees, to pay attention to their work, and to execute it in a more maſterly manner.

It was ſingular to ſee an Oxford ſcholar in the condition of a purchaſed ſervant. He was not more than eighteen years of age; and the following are the particulars he gave me of himſelf. Born at Glouceſter, he had been educated at a grammar ſchool, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the ſcholars by his ſuperior ſtyle of acting, when they repreſented dramatic performances.

He was member of a literary club in the town; and ſome pieces of his compoſition, in proſe as well as in verſe, had been inſerted in the Glouceſter papers. From hence he was ſent to Oxford, where he remained about a year: but he was not contented, and wiſhed above all

all things to see London, and become an actor. At length having received fifteen guineas to pay his quarter's board, he decamped with the money from Oxford, hid his gown in a hedge, and travelled to London. There, having no friend to direct him he fell into bad company, soon squandered his fifteen guineas, could find no way of being introduced to the actors, became contemptible, pawned his clothes, and was in want of bread. As he was walking along the streets, almost famished with hunger, and not knowing what to do, a recruiting bill was put into his hand, which offered an immediate treat and bounty-money to whoever was disposed to serve in America. He instantly repaired to the house of rendezvous, inlisted himself, was put on board a ship and conveyed to America, without ever writing to inform his parents what was become of him. His mental vivacity, and good natural disposition, made him an excellent companion; but he was indolent, thoughtless, and to the last degree imprudent.

John, the Irishman, soon ran away. I began to live very agreeable with the rest. They respected me, and the more so as they found Keimer incapable of instructing them, and as they learned something from me every day. We never worked on a Saturday, it being Keimer's sabbath; so that I had two days a week for reading.

I increased my acquaintance with persons of knowledge and information in the town. Keimer himself treated me with great civility, and apparent esteem; and I had nothing to give me uneasiness but my debt to Vernon, which I was unable to pay, my savings as yet being very little. He had the goodness, however, not to ask me for the money.

Our press was frequently in want of the necessary quantity of letter; and there was no such trade as that of letter-founder in America. I had seen the practice of this art at the house of James, in London; but had at the same time paid it very little attention. I however contrived to fabricate a mould. I made use of such

such letters as we had for punches, founded new letters of Lead in matrices of clay, and thus supplied in a tolerable manner, the wants that were most pressing.

I also, upon occasion, engraved various ornaments, made ink, gave an eye to the shop; in short, I was in every respect the *factotum*. But useful as I made myself, I perceived that my services became every day of less importance, in proportion as the other men improved; and when Keimer paid me my second quarter's wages, he gave me to understand that they were too heavy, and that he thought I ought to make an abatement. He became by degrees less civil, and assumed more the tone of master. He frequently found fault, was difficult to please, and seemed always on the point of coming to an open quarrel with me.

I continued, however, to bear it patiently, conceiving that his ill humour was partly occasioned by the derangement and embarrassment of his affairs. At last a slight incident broke our connection. Hearing a noise in the neighbourhood, I put my head out of the window to see what was the matter. Keimer being in the street, observed me, and in a loud and angry tone told me to mind my work; adding some reproachful words, which piqued me the more as they were uttered in the street, and the neighbours, whom the same noise had attracted to the windows, were witnesses of the manner in which I was treated. He immediately came up to the printing-room, and continued to exclaim against me. The quarrel became warm on both sides, and he gave me notice to quit him at the expiration of three months, as had been agreed between us; regretting that he was obliged to give me so long a term. I told him that his regret was superfluous, as I was ready to quit him instantly; I took my hat and came out of the house, begging Meredith to take care of some things which I left, and bring them to my lodgings.

Meredith came to me in the evening. We talked for some time upon the quarrel that had taken place.

He

He had conceived a great veneration for me, and was ſorry I ſhould quit the houſe while he remained in it. He diſſuaded me from returning to my native country, as I began to think of doing. He reminded me that Keimer owed more than he poſſeſſed; that his creditors began to be alarmed; that he kept his ſhop in a wretched ſtate, often ſelling things at prime coſt for the ſake of ready money, and continually giving credit without keeping any accounts; that of conſequence he muſt very ſoon fail, which would occaſion a vacancy from which I might derive advantage. I objected my want of money. Upon which he informed me that his father had a very high opinion of me, and, from a converſation that had paſſed between them, he was ſure that he would advance whatever might be neceſſary to eſtabliſh us, if I was willing to enter into partnerſhip with him. "My time with Keimer," added he, "will be at an end next ſpring. In the mean time we may ſend to London for our preſs and types. I know that I am no workman; but if you agree to the propoſal, your ſkill in the buſineſs will be balanced by the capital I will furniſh, and we will ſhare the profits equally." His propoſal was reaſonable, and I fell in with it. His father who was then in the town, approved of it. He knew that I had ſome aſcendency over his ſon, as I had been able to prevail on him to abſtain a long time from drinking brandy; and he hoped, that when more cloſely connected with him, I ſhould cure him entirely of this unfortunate habit.

I gave the father a liſt of what it would be neceſſary to import from London. He took it to a merchant, and the order was given. We agreed to keep the ſecret till the arrival of the materials, and I was in the mean time to procure work, if poſſible, in another printing-houſe; but there was no place vacant, and I remained idle. After ſome days, Keimer having the expectation of being employed to print ſome New-Jerſey money-bills, that would require types and engravings which I only could furniſh, and fearful that Bradford by engaging me, might deprive him of the undertaking

undertaking, ſent me a very civil meſſage telling me that old friends ought not to be diſunited on account of a few words, which were the effect only of a momentary paſſion, and invited me to return to him. Meredith perſuaded me to comply with the invitation, particularly as it would afford him more opportunities of improving himſelf in the buſineſs by means of my inſtructions. I did ſo, and we lived upon better terms than before our ſeparation.

He obtained the New-Jerſey buſineſs; and in order to execute it, I conſtructed a copper-plate printing-preſs; the firſt that had been ſeen in the country. I engraved various ornaments and vignettes for the bills; and we repaired to Burlington together, where I executed the whole to the general ſatisfaction; and he received a ſum of money for this work, which enabled him to keep his head above water for a conſiderable time longer.

At Burlington I formed acquaintance with the principal perſonages of the province; many of whom were commiſſioned by the aſſembly to ſuperintend the preſs, and to ſee that no more bills were printed than the law had preſcribed. Accordingly they were conſtantly with us, each in his turn; and he that came commonly brought with him a friend or two to bear him company. My mind was more cultivated by reading than Keimer's; and it was for this reaſon, probably, that they ſet more value on my converſation. They took me to their houſes, introduced me to their friends and treated me with the greateſt civility; while Keimer, though maſter, ſaw himſelf a little neglected. He was, in fact, a ſtrange animal, ignorant of the common modes of life, apt to oppoſe with rudeneſs generally received opinions, an enthuſiaſt in certain points of religion, diſguſtingly unclean in his perſon, and a little knaviſh withal.

We remained there nearly three months; and at the expiration of this period I could conclude in the liſt of my friends, Judge Allen, Samuel Buſtil, ſecretary of the province, Iſaac Pearſon, Joſeph Cooper, ſeveral

ſeveral of the Smiths, all members of the aſſembly, and Iſaac Deacon, inſpector-general. The laſt was a ſhrewd and ſubtle old man. He told me, that, when a boy, his firſt employment had been that of carrying clay to brick-makers; that he did not learn to write till he was ſomewhat advanced in life; that he was afterwards employed as an underling to a ſurveyor, who taught him his trade, and that by induſtry he had at laſt acquired a competent fortune. "I foreſee," ſaid he one day to me, "that you will ſoon ſupplant this man," ſpeaking of Keimer, "and get a fortune in the buſineſs at Philadelphia." He was totally ignorant at the time of my intention of eſtabliſhing myſelf there, or any where elſe. Theſe friends were very ſerviceable to me in the end, as was I alſo upon occaſion to ſome of them; and they have continued ever ſince their eſteem for me.

Before I relate the particulars of my entrance into buſineſs, it may be proper to inform you what was at that time the ſtate of my mind as to moral principles that you may ſee the degree of influence they had upon the ſubſequent events of my life.

My parents had given me betimes religious impreſſions; and I received from my infancy a pious education in the principles of Calvaniſm. But ſcarcely was I arrived at fifteen years of age, when, after having doubted in turn of different tenets, according as I found them combated in the different books that I read, I began to doubt of revelation itſelf. Some volumes againſt deiſm fell into my hands. They were ſaid to be the ſubſtance of ſermons preached at Boyle's Lecture. It happened that they produced on me an effect preciſely the reverſe of what was intended by the writers; for the arguments of the deiſts, which were cited in order to be refuted, appeared to me much more forcible than the refutation itſelf. In a word, I ſoon became a perfect deiſt. My arguments perverted ſome other young perſons; particularly Collins and Ralph. But in the ſequel, when I recollected that they had both uſed me extremely ill, without the ſmalleſt remorſe;

morſe ; when I conſidered the behaviour of Keith, another freethinker, and my own conduct towards Vernon and Miſs Read, which at times gave me much uneaſineſs, I was led to ſuſpect that this doctrine, though it might be true, was not very uſeful. I began to entertain a leſs favourable opinion of my London pamphlet, to which I had prefixed, as a motto, the following lines of Dryden ;

> Whatever is, is right ; tho' purblind man,
> Sees but part of the chain the neareſt link,
> His eyes not carrying to the equal beam
> That poiſes all above.

and of which the object was to prove, from the attributes of God, his goodneſs, wiſdom, and power, that there could be no ſuch thing as evil in the world; that vice and virtue did not in reality exiſt and were nothing more than vain diſtinctions. I no longer regarded it as ſo blameleſs a work as I had formerly imagined ; and I ſuſpected that ſome error muſt have imperceptibly glided into my argument, as all the inferences I had drawn from it had been affected, as frequently happens, in metaphyſical reaſonings. In a word, I was at laſt convinced that truth, probity, and ſincerity, in tranſactions between man and man, were of the utmoſt importance to the happineſs of life : and I reſolved from that moment, and wrote the reſolution in my journal, to practiſe them as long as I lived.

Revelation indeed, as ſuch, had no influence on my mind ; but I was of opinion that, though certain actions could not be bad merely becauſe revelation prohibited them, or good becauſe it enjoined them, yet it was probable that thoſe actions were prohibited becauſe they were bad for us, or enjoined becauſe advantageous in their nature, all things conſidered. This perſuaſion, divine Providence, or ſome guardian angel, and perhaps a concurrence of favourable circumſtances co-operating, preſerved me from all immorality, or groſs and *voluntary* injuſtice, to which my want of religion was

calculated to expoſe me, in the dangerous period of youth and in the hazardous ſituations in which I ſometimes found myſelf, among ſtrangers, and at a diſtance from the eye and admonitions of my father. I may ſay *voluntary*, becauſe the errors into which I had fallen, had been in a manner the forced reſult either of my own inexperience, or the diſhoneſty of others. Thus, before I entered on my new career, I had imbibed ſolid principles, and a character of probity. I knew their value; I made a ſolemn engagement with myſelf never to depart from them.

I had not long returned from Burlington before our printing materials arrived from London. I ſettled my accounts with Keimer, and quitted him, with his own conſent, before he had any knowledge of our plan. We found a houſe to let near the market. We took it; and to render the rent leſs burthenſome (it was then twenty-four pounds a-year, but I have ſince known it to let for ſeventy,) we admitted Thomas Godfrey, a glazier, with his family, who eaſed us of a conſiderable part of it; and with him we agreed to board.

We had no ſooner unpacked our letter, and put our preſs in order, than a perſon of my acquaintance, George Houſe, brought us a countryman, whom he had met in the ſtreets enquiring for a printer. Our money was almoſt exhauſted by the number of things we had been obliged to procure. The five ſhillings we received from this countryman, the firſt fruit of our earnings, coming ſo ſeaſonably, gave me more pleaſure than any ſum I have ſince gained; and the recollection of the gratitude I felt on this occaſion to George Houſe, has rendered me often more diſpoſed, than perhaps I ſhould otherwiſe have been, to encourage young beginners in trade.

There are in every country moroſe beings, who are always prognoſticating ruin. There was one of this ſtamp in Philadelphia. He was a man of fortune, declined in years, had an air of wiſdom, and a very grave manner of ſpeaking. His name was Samuel Mickle.

I knew

I knew him not; but he ſtopped one day at my door, and aſked me if I was the young man who had lately ſet up a new printing-houſe. Upon my anſwering in the affirmative, he ſaid that he was very ſorry for me, as it was an expenſive undertaking, and the money that had been laid out upon it would be loſt, Philadelphia being a place falling into decay; its inhabitants having all or nearly all of them, been obliged to call together their creditors. That he knew from undoubted fact, the circumſtances which might lead us to ſuppoſe the contrary, ſuch as new buildings and the advanced price of rent, to be deceitful appearances, which in reality contributed to haſten the general ruin; and he gave me ſo long a detail of misfortunes, actually exiſting, or which were ſoon to take place, that he left me almoſt in a ſtate of deſpair. Had I known this man before I entered into trade, I ſhould doubtleſs never have ventured. He however continued to live in this place of decay, and to declaim in the ſame ſtyle, refuſing for many years to buy a houſe, becauſe all was going to wreck; and in the end I had the ſatisfaction to ſee him pay five times as much for one as it would coſt him had he purchaſed it when he firſt began his lamentations.

I ought to have related, that, during the autumn of the preceding year, I had united the majority of well-informed perſons of my acquaintance into a club which we called by the name of the *Junto*, and the object of which was to improve our underſtandings. We met every Friday evening. The regulations I drew up, obliged every member to propoſe, in his turn, one or more queſtions upon ſome point of morality, politics, or philoſophy, which were to be diſcuſſed by the ſociety; and to read once in three months, an eſſay of his own compoſition, on whatever ſubject he pleaſed. Our debates were under the direction of a preſident, and were to be dictated only by a ſincere deſire of truth; the pleaſure of diſputing, and the vanity of triumph having no ſhare in the buſineſs; and in order to prevent undue warmth, every expreſſion which implied

plied obſtinate adherence to an opinion and all direct contradiction, were probibited under ſmall pecuniary penalties.

The firſt members of our club were Joſeph Breintnal, whoſe occupation was that of a ſcrivener. He was a middle-aged man, of a good natural diſpoſition ſtrongly attached to his friends, a great lover of poetry, reading every thing that came in his way, and writing tolerably well, ingenious in many little trifles, and of an agreeable converſation.

Thomas Godfrey, a ſkilful, though ſelf-taught mathematician, and who was afterwards the inventor of what now goes by the name of Hadley's dial; but he had little knowledge out of his own line, and was inſupportable in company, always requiring, like the majority of mathematicians that have fallen in my way, an unuſual preciſion in every thing that is ſaid, continually contradicting or making trifling diſtinctions; a ſure way of defeating all the ends of converſation. He very ſoon left us.

Nicholas Scull, a ſurveyor, and who became afterwards ſurveyor-general. He was fond of books, and wrote verſes.

William Parſons brought up to the trade of a ſhoemaker, but who having a taſte for reading, had acquired a profound knowledge of mathematics. He firſt ſtudied them with a view to aſtrology, and was afterwards the firſt to laugh at his folly. He alſo became ſurveyor-general.

William Mawgridge, a joiner, and a very excellent mechanic; and in other reſpects a man of ſolid underſtanding.

Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts, and George Webb, of whom I have already ſpoken.

Robert Grace a young man of fortune; generous, animated and witty; fond of epigrams, but more fond of his friends.

And laſtly, William Coleman, at that time a merchant's clerk, and nearly of my own age. He had a cooler and clearer head, a better heart, and more ſcrupulous

pulous morals, than almoſt any other perſon I have ever met with. He became a very reſpectable merchant, and one of our provincial judges. Our friendſhip ſubſiſted, without interruption, for more than forty years, till the period of his death; and the club continued to exiſt almoſt as long.

This was the beſt ſchool of politics and philoſophy that then exiſted in the province; for our queſtions, which were read a week previous to their diſcuſſion, induced us to peruſe attentively ſuch books as were written upon the ſubjects propoſed, that we might be able to ſpeak upon them more pertinently. We thus acquired the habit of converſing more agreeably; every object being diſcuſſed conformably to our regulations, and in a manner to prevent mutual diſguſt. To this circumſtance may be attributed the long duration of the club; which I ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention as I proceed.

I have introduced it here, as being one of the means on which I had to count for ſucceſs in my buſineſs; every member exerting himſelf to procure work for us. Breintnal among others, obtained for us, on the part of the Quakers, the printing of forty ſheets of their hiſtory; of which the reſt was to be done by Keimer. Our execution of this work was by no means maſterly; as the price was very low. It was in folio, upon *pro patria* paper, and in the *pica* letter, with heavy notes in the ſmalleſt type. I compoſed a ſheet a day, and Meredith put it to the preſs. It was frequently eleven o'clock at night ſometimes later, before I had finiſhed my diſtribution for the next day's taſk; for the little things which our friends occaſionally ſent us, kept us back in this work: but I was ſo determined to compoſe a ſheet a day, that one evening, when my form was impoſed, and my day's work, as I thought, at an end, an accident having broken this form, and deranged two complete folia pages, I immediately diſtributed, and compoſed them anew before I went to bed.

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This unwearied induſtry, which was perceived by our neighbours, began to acquire us reputation and credit. I learned among other things, that our new printing-houſe being the ſubject of converſation at a club of merchants, who met every evening, it was the general opinion that it would fail; there being already two printing-houſes in the town, Keimer's and Bradford's. But Dr. Bard, whom you and I had occaſion to ſee, many years after, at his native town of St. Andrews in Scotland, was of a different opinion, "The induſtry of this Franklin (ſaid he) is ſuperior to any thing of the kind I have ever witneſſed. I ſee him ſtill at work when I return from the club at night, and he is at it again in the morning before his neighbours are out of bed." This account ſtruck the reſt of the aſſembly, and ſhortly after one of its members came to our houſe, and offered to ſupply us with articles of ſtationary; but we wiſhed not as yet to embarraſs ourſelves with keeping a ſhop. It is not for the ſake of applauſe that I enter ſo freely into the particulars of my induſtry, but that ſuch of my deſcendants as ſhall read theſe memoirs may know the uſe of this virtue, by ſeeing in the recital of my life the effects it operated in my favour.

George Webb, having found a friend who lent him the neceſſary ſum to buy out his time of Keimer, came one day to offer himſelf to us as a journeyman. We could not employ him immediately; but I fooliſhly told him, under the roſe, that I intended ſhortly to publiſh a new periodical paper, and that we ſhould then have work for him. My hopes of ſucceſs, which I imparted to him, were founded on the circumſtance, that the only paper we had in Philadelphia at that time, and which Bradford printed, was a paltry thing, miſerably conducted, in no reſpect amuſing, and which yet was profitable. I conſequently ſuppoſed that a good work of this kind could not fail of ſucceſs. Webb betrayed my ſecret to Keimer, who, to prevent me, immediately publiſhed the *proſpectus* of a paper that he intended to inſtitute himſelf, and in which Webb was to be engaged.

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I was exaſperated at this proceeding, and, with a view to counteract them, not being able at preſent to inſtitute my own paper, I wrote ſome humorous pieces in Bradford's, under the title of the Buſy Body ;* and which was continued for ſeveral months by Breintnal. I hereby fixed the attention of the public upon Bradford's paper, and the *prospectus* of Keimer, which we turned into ridicule, was treated with contempt. He began notwithſtanding, his paper; and after continuing it for nine months, having at moſt not more than ninety ſubſcribers, he offered it to me for a mere trifle. I had for ſome time been ready for ſuch an engagement; I therefore inſtantly took it upon myſelf, and in a few years it proved extremely profitable to me.

I perceive that I am apt to ſpeak in the firſt perſon, though our partnerſhip ſtill continued. It is perhaps, becauſe in fact, the whole buſineſs devolved upon me. Meredith was no compoſitor, and but an indifferent preſſman : and it was rarely that he abſtained from hard drinking. My friends were ſorry to ſee me connected with him ; but I contrived to derive from it the utmoſt advantage the caſe admitted.

Our firſt number produced no other effect than any other paper which had appeared in the province, as to type and printing; but ſome remarks, in my peculiar ſtyle of writing, upon the diſpute which then prevailed between governor Burnet, and the Maſſachuſetts aſſembly, ſtruck ſome perſons as above mediocrity, cauſed the paper and its editors to be talked of, and in a few weeks induced them to become our ſubſcribers. Many others followed their example; and our ſubſcription continued to increaſe. This was one of the firſt good effects of the pains I had taken to learn to

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* *A manuſcript note in the file of the American Mercury, preſerved in the Philadelphia library, ſays, that Franklin wrote the firſt five numbers and part of the eighth.*

to put my ideas on paper. I derived this farther advantage from it, that the leading men of the place, seeing in the author of this publication a man so well able to use his pen, thought it right to patronise and encourage me.

The votes, laws and other public pieces, were printed by Bradford. An address of the house of assembly to the governor, had been executed by him in a very coarse and incorrect manner. We reprinted it with accuracy and neatness, and sent a copy to every member. They perceived the difference; and it so strengthened the influence of our friends in the assembly, that we were nominated its printer for the following year.

Among these friends I ought not to forget one member in particular Mr. Hamilton, whom I have mentioned in a former part of my narrative, and who was now returned from England. He warmly interested himself for me on this occasion, as he did likewise on many others afterwards; having continued his kindness to me till his death.

About this period Mr. Vernon reminded me of the debt I owed him, but without pressing me for payment. I wrote him a handsome letter on the occasion, begging him to wait a little longer, to which he consented and as soon as I was able, I paid him, principal and interest, with many expressions of gratitude; so that this error of my life was in a manner atoned for.

But another trouble now happened to me, which I had not the smallest reason to expect. Meredith's father, who, according to our agreement, was to defray the whole expence of our printing materials, had only paid a hundred pounds. Another hundred was still due, and the merchant being tired of waiting, commenced a suit against us. We bailed the action, but with the melancholy prospect, that, if the money was not forthcoming at the time fixed, the affair would come to issue, judgment be put in execution, our delightful hopes be annihilated, and ourselves entirely ruined;

ed; as the type and press must be sold, perhaps at half their value, to pay the debt.

In this distress, two real friends, whose generous conduct I have never forgotten, and never shall forget while I retain the remembrance of any thing, came to me separately, without the knowledge of each other, and without my having applied to them. Each offered me whatever sum might be necessary to take the business into my own hands, if the thing was practicable, as they did not like I should continue in partnership with Meredith, who, they said, was frequently seen drunk in the streets, and gambling at ale-houses, which very much injured our credit. These friends were William Coleman and Robert Grace. I told them that while there remained any probability that the Mereditbs would fulfil their part of the compact, I could not propose a separation; as I conceived myself to be under obligations to them for what they had done already, and were still disposed to do if they had the power: but in the end should they fail in their engagement, and our partnership be dissolved, I should then think myself at liberty to accept the kindness of my friends.

Things remained for some time in this state. At last I said one day to my partner, "your father is perhaps dissatisfied with your having a share only in the business, and is unwilling to do for two, what he would do for you alone. Tell me frankly if that be the case, and I will resign the whole to you, and do for myself as well as I can."—"No (said he) my father has really been disappointed in his hopes; he is not able to pay, and I wish to put him to no further inconvenience. I see that I am not at all calculated for a printer; I was educated as a farmer, and it was absurd in me to come here, at thirty years of age, and bind myself apprentice to a new trade. Many of my countrymen are going to settle in North-Carolina, where the soil is exceedingly favourable. I am tempted to go with them, and to resume my former occupation. You will doubtless find friends who will assist you. If you will take

take upon yourself the debts of the partnership, return my father the hundred pounds he has advanced, pay my little personal debts, and give me thirty pounds and a new saddle, I will renounce the partnership, and consign over the whole stock to you."

I accepted this proposal without hesitation. It was committed to paper, and signed and sealed without delay. I gave him what he demanded, and he departed soon after for Carolina, from whence he sent me, in the following year, two long letters, containing the best accounts that had yet been given of that country, as to climate, soil, agriculture, &c. for he was well versed in these matters. I published them in my newspaper, and they were received with great satisfaction.

As soon as he was gone I applied to my two friends, and not wishing to give a disobliging preference to either of them, I accepted from each half what he had offered me, and which it was necessary I would have. I paid the partnership debts, and continued the business on my own account; taking care to inform the public, by advertisement, of the partnership being dissolved. This was, I think, in the year 1729, or thereabout.

Nearly at the same period the people demanded a new emission of paper money: the existing and only one that had taken place in the province, and which amounted to fifteen thousand pounds, being soon to expire. The wealthy inhabitants, prejudiced against every sort of paper currency, from the fear of its depreciation, of which there had been an instance in the province of New-England, to the injury of its holders, strongly opposed the measure. We had discussed this affair in our junto, in which I was on the side of the new emission; convinced that the first small sum, fabricated in 1723, had done much good in the province, by favouring commerce, industry and population, since all the houses were now inhabited, and many others building; whereas I remembered to have seen, when first I paraded the streets of Philadelphia eating my roll, the majority of those in Walnut-street, Second-street, Fourth

Fourth-ſtreet, as well as a great number in Cheſnut and other ſtreets, with papers on them ſignifying that they were to be let; which made me think at the time that the inhabitants of the town were deſerting it one after another.

Our debates made me ſo fully maſter of the ſubject, that I wrote and publiſhed an anonymous pamphlet, entitled An Enquiry into the Nature and neceſſity of a Paper Currency. It was very well received by the lower and middling claſs of people; but it diſpleaſed the opulent, as it increaſed the clamour in favour of the new emiſſion. Having, however, no writer among them capable of anſwering it; their oppoſition became leſs violent; and there being in the houſe of aſſembly a majority for the meaſure, it paſſed. The friends I had acquired in the houſe, perſuaded that I had done the country eſſential ſerve on this occaſion, rewarded me by giving me the printing of the bills. It was a lucrative employment, and proved a very ſeaſonable help to me; another advantage which I derived from having habituated myſelf to write.

Time and experience ſo fully demonſtrated the utility of paper currency, that it never after experienced any conſiderable oppoſition; ſo that it ſoon amounted to 55,000l. and in the year 1739 to 80,000l. It has ſince riſen, during the laſt war, to 350,000l. trade, buildings and population having in the interval continually increaſed; but I am now convinced that there are limits, beyond which, paper money would be prejudicial.

I ſoon after obtained, by the influence of my friend Hamilton, the printing of the Newcaſtle paper money, another profitable work, as I then thought it, little things appearing great to perſons of moderate fortune; and they were really great to me, as proving great encouragements. He alſo procured me the printing of the laws and votes of that government which I retained as long as I continued in the buſineſs.

I now opened a ſmall ſtationer's ſhop. I kept bonds and agreements of all kinds, drawn up in a more accurate

rate form than had yet been seen in that part of the world : a work in which I was assisted by my friend Brientnal. I had also paper, parchment, pasteboard, books, &c. One Whitemash, an excellent compositor, whom I had known in London, came to offer himself. I engaged him, and he continued constantly and diligently to work with me. I also took an apprentice, the son of Aquila Rose.

I began to pay, by degrees, the debt I had contracted; and in order to insure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be *really* industrious and frugal, but also to avoid every appearance of the contrary. I was plainly dressed, and never seen in any place of public amusement. I never went a fishing or hunting: A book indeed inticed me sometimes from my work, but it was seldom, by stealth, and occasioned no scandal; and to shew that I did not think myself above my profession, I conveyed home sometimes in a wheelbarrow the paper I purchased at the warehouses.

I thus obtained the reputation of being an industrious young man, and very punctual in his payments. The merchants who imported articles of stationary, solicited my custom; others offered to furnish me with books, and my little trade went on prosperously.

Meanwhile the credit and business of Keimer diminished every day, he was at last forced to sell his stock to satisfy his creditors; and he betook himself to Barbadoes, where he lived for some time in a very impoverished state. His apprentice, David Harry, whom I had instructed while I worked with Keimer, having bought his materials, succeeded him in the business. I was apprehensive, at first, of finding in Harry a powerful competitor, as he was allied to an opulent and respectable family; I therefore proposed a partnership, which, happily for me, he rejected with disdain. He was extremely proud, thought himself a fine gentleman, lived extravagantly, and pursued amusements which suffered him to be scarcely ever at home; of consequence he became in debt, neglected his business,

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and buſineſs neglected him. Finding in a ſhort time nothing to do in the country, he followed Keimer to Barbadoes, carrying his printing materials with him. There the apprentice employed his old maſter as a journeyman. They were continually quarrelling; and Harry ſtill getting in debt, was obliged at laſt to ſell his preſs and types, and return to his old occupation of huſbandry in Pennſylvania. The perſon who purchaſed them, employed Keimer to manage the buſineſs; but he died a few years after.

I had now at Philadelphia no competitor but Bradford, who, being in eaſy circumſtances, did not engage in the printing of books, except now and then as workmen chanced to offer themſelves; and was not anxious to extend his trade. He had, however, one advantage over me, as he had the direction of the poſt-office, and was of conſequence ſuppoſed to have better opportunities of obtaining news. His paper was alſo ſuppoſed to be more advantageous to advertiſing cuſtomers; and in conſequence of that ſuppoſition, his advertiſements were much more numerous than mine: this was a ſource of great profit to him, and diſadvantageous to me. It was to no purpoſe that I really procured other papers, and diſtributed my own, by means of the poſt; the public took for granted my inability in this reſpect; and I was indeed unable to conquer it in any other mode than by bribing the poſt-boys, who ſerved me only by ſtealth, Bradford being ſo illiberal as to forbid them.—This treatment of his excited my reſentment; and my diſguſt was ſo rooted, that, when I afterwards ſucceeded him in the poſt-office, I took care to avoid copying his example.

I had hitherto continued to board with Godfrey, who, with his wife and children, occupied part of my houſe, and half of the ſhop for his buſineſs; at which indeed he worked very little, being always abſorbed by mathematics. Mrs. Godfrey formed a wiſh of marrying me to the daughter of one of her relations. She contrived various opportunities of bringing us together, till ſhe ſaw that I was captivated; which was not difficult,

ficult, the lady in queſtion poſſeſſing great perſonal merit. The parents encouraged my addreſſes, by inviting me continually to ſupper, and leaving us together, till at laſt it was time to come to an explanation. Mrs. Godfrey undertook to negociate our little treaty. I gave her to underſtand, that I expected to receive with the young lady a ſum of money that would enable me at leaſt to diſcharge the remainder of my debt for my printing materials. It was then, I believe, not more than a hundred pounds. She brought me for anſwer, that they had no ſuch ſum at their diſpoſal. I obſerved that it might eaſily be obtained, by a mortgage on their houſe. The reply of this was, after a few days interval, that they did not approve of the match; that they had conſulted Bradford, and found that the buſineſs of a printer was not lucrative; that my letters would ſoon be worn out, and muſt be ſupplied by new ones; that Keimer and Harry had failed, and that, probably, I ſhould do ſo too. Accordingly they forbade me the houſe, and the young lady was confined. I know not if they had really changed their minds, or if it was merely an artifice, ſuppoſing our affections to be too far engaged for us to deſiſt, and that we ſhould contrive to marry ſecretly, which would leave them at liberty to give or not as they pleaſed. But, ſuſpecting this motive, I never went again to their houſe.

Some time after Mrs. Godfrey informed me that they were favourably diſpoſed towards me, and wiſhed me to renew the acquaintance; but I declared a firm reſolution never to have any thing more to do with the family. The Godfrey's expreſſed ſome reſentment at this; and as we could no longer agree, they changed their reſidence, leaving me in poſſeſſion of the whole houſe. I then reſolved to take no more lodgers. This affair having turned my thoughts to marriage, I looked around me, and made overtures of alliance in other quarters; but I ſoon found that the profeſſion of a printer being generally looked upon as a poor trade, I could expect no money with a wife, at leaſt if I wiſh-

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ed her to poſſeſs any other charm. Meanwhile, that paſſion of youth, ſo difficult to govern, had often drawn me into intrigues with deſpicable women, who fell in my way; which were not unaccompanied with expence and inconvenience, beſides the perpetual riſk of injuring my health, and catching a diſeaſe which I dreaded above all things. But I was fortunate enough to eſcape this danger.

As a neighbour and old acquaintance, I kept up a friendly intimacy with the family of Miſs Read. Her parents had retained an affection for me from the time of my lodging in their houſe. I was often invited thither; they conſulted me about their affairs, and I had been ſometimes ſerviceable to them. I was touched with the unhappy ſituation of their daughter, who was almoſt always melancholy, and continually ſeeking ſolitude. I regarded my forgetfulneſs and inconſtancy, during my abode in London, as the principal cauſe of her misfortune; though her mother had the candour to attribute the fault to herſelf, rather than to me, becauſe, after having prevented our marriage previous to my abſence, ſhe had induced her to marry another in my abſence.

Our mutual affection revived; but there exiſted great obſtacles to our union. Her marriage was conſidered, indeed, as not being valid, the man having, it was ſaid, a former wife ſtill living in England; but of this it was difficult to obtain a proof at ſo great a diſtance; and though a report prevailed of his being dead, yet we had no certainty of it; and ſuppoſing it to be true, he had left many debts, for the payment of which his ſucceſſor might be ſued. We ventured nevertheleſs, in ſpite of all theſe difficulties, and I married her on the firſt of September 1730. None of the inconveniences we had feared happened to us—She proved to me a good and faithful companion, and contributed eſſentially to the ſucceſs of my ſhop. We proſpered together, and it was our mutual ſtudy to render each other happy. Thus I corrected, as well as I could, this great error of my youth.

Our

Our club was not at that time eſtabliſhed at a tavern. We held our meetings at the houſe of Mr. Grace, who appropriated a room to the purpoſe. Some member obſerved one day, that as our books were frequently quoted in the courſe of our diſcuſſions, it would be convenient to have them collected in the room in which we aſſembled, in order to be conſulted upon occaſion; and that, by thus forming a common library of our individual collections, each would have the advantage of uſing the books of all the other members, which would nearly be the ſame as if he poſſeſſed them all himſelf. The idea was approved, and we accordingly brought ſuch books as we thought we could ſpare, which were placed at the end of the club-room. They amounted not to ſo many as we expected; and though we made conſiderable uſe of them, yet ſome inconveniencies reſulting, from want of care, it was agreed, after about a year, to deſtroy the collection; and each took away ſuch books as belonged to him.

It was now that I firſt ſtated the idea of eſtabliſhing, by ſubſcription, a public library. I drew up the propoſals, had them ingroſſed in form by Brockden the attorney, and my project ſucceeded, as will be ſeen in the ſequel * * * * * * * * * * * * *

[The life of Dr. Franklin, as written by himſelf, ſo far as it has been communicated to the world, breaks off in this place. We underſtand that it was continued by him ſomewhat further, and we hope that the remainder will, at ſome future period, be communicated to the public. We have no heſitation in ſuppoſing that every reader will find himſelf greatly intereſted by the frank ſimplicity and the philoſophical diſcernment by which theſe pages are ſo eminently characteriſed. We have therefore thought proper, in order as much as poſſible to relieve his regret, to ſubjoin the following continuation, by one of the doctor's intimate friends. It is extracted from an American periodical

periodical publication, and was written by the late Dr. Stuber* of Philadelphia.]

THE promotion of literature had been little attended to in Pennsylvania. Most of the inhabitants were too much immersed in business to think of scientific pursuits; and those few, whose inclinations led them to study, found it difficult to gratify them, from the want of sufficiently large libraries. In such circumstances, the establishment of a public library was an important event. This was first set on foot by Franklin,

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* *Dr. Stuber was born in Philadelphia, of German parents. He was sent, at an early age, to the university, where his genius, diligence, and amiable temper soon acquired him the particular notice and favour of those under whose immediate direction he was placed. After passing through the common course of study, in a much shorter time than usual, he left the university, at the age of sixteen, with great reputation. Not long after, he entered on the study of Physic; and the zeal with which he pursued it, and the advances he made, gave his friends reason to form the most flattering prospects of his future eminence and usefulness in the profession. As Dr. Stuber's circumstances were very moderate, he did not think this pursuit well calculated to answer them. He therefore relinquished it, after he had obtained a degree in the profession, and qualified himself to practise with credit and success; and immediately entered on the study of Law. In pursuit of the last mentioned object, he was prematurely arrested, before he had an opportunity of reaping the fruit of those talents with which he was endowed, and of a youth spent in the ardent and successful pursuit of useful and elegant literature.*

Franklin, about the year 1731. Fifty perſons ſubſcribed forty ſhillings each, and agreed to pay ten ſhillings annually. The number increaſed; and in 1742, the company was incorporated by the name of "The Library Company of Philadelphia." Several other companies were formed in this city in imitation of it. Theſe were all at length united with the library company of Philadelphia, which thus received a conſiderable acceſſion of books and property. It now contains about eight thouſand volumes on all ſubjects, a philoſophical apparatus, and a good beginning towards a collection of natural and artificial curioſities, beſides landed property of conſiderable value. The company have lately built an elegant houſe in Fifth-ſtreet, in the front of which will be erected a marble ſtatue of their founder, Benjamin Franklin.

This inſtitution was greatly encouraged by the friends of literature in America and in Great Britain. The Penn family diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their donations. Amongſt the earlieſt friends of this inſtitution muſt be mentioned the late Peter Collinſon, the friend and correſpondent of Dr. Franklin. He not only made conſiderable preſents himſelf, and obtained others from his friends, but voluntarily undertook to manage the buſineſs of the company in London, recommending books, purchaſing and ſhipping them. His extenſive knowledge, and zeal for the promotion of ſcience, enabled him to execute this important truſt with the greateſt advantage. He continued to perform theſe ſervices for more than thirty years, and uniformly refuſed to accept of any compenſation. During this time, he communicated to the directors every information relative to improvements and diſcoveries in the arts, agriculture, and philoſophy.

The beneficial influence of this inſtitution was ſoon evident. The cheapneſs of terms rendered it acceſſible to every one. Its advantages were not confined to the opulent. The citizens in the middle and lower walks of life were equally partakers of them. Hence a degree of information was extended amongſt all claſſ-

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es of people, which is very unuſual in other places. The example was ſoon followed. Libraries were eſtabliſhed in various places, and they are now become very numerous in the United States, and particularly in Pennſylvania. It is to be hoped that they will be ſtill more widely extended, and that information will be every where increaſed. This will be the beſt ſecurity for maintaining our liberties. A nation of well-informed men, who have been taught to know and prize the rights which God has given them, cannot be enſlaved. It is in the regions of ignorance that tyranny reigns. It flies before the light of ſcience. Let the citizens of America, then, encourage inſtitutions calculated to diffuſe knowledge amongſt the people; and amongſt theſe, public libraries are not the leaſt important.

In 1732, Franklin began to publiſh Poor Richard's Almanack. This was remarkable for the numerous and valuable conciſe maxims which it contained, all tending to exhort to induſtry and frugality. It was continued for many years. In the almanack for the laſt year, all the maxims were collected in an addreſs to the reader, entitled, The Way to Wealth. This has been tranſlated in various languages, and inſerted in different publications. It has alſo been printed on a large ſheet, and may be ſeen framed in many houſes in this city. This addreſs contains, perhaps the beſt practical ſyſtem of œconomy that ever has appeared. It is written in a manner intelligible to every one, and which cannot fail of convincing every reader of the juſtice and propriety of the remarks and advice which it contains. The demand for this almanack was ſo great, that ten thouſand have been ſold in one year; which muſt be conſidered as a very large number, eſpecially when we reflect, that this country was, at that time, but thinly peopled. It cannot be doubted that the ſalutary maxims contained in theſe almanacks muſt have made a favourable impreſſion upon many of the readers of them.

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It was not long before Franklin entered upon his political career. In the year 1736 he was appointed clerk to the general assembly of Pennsylvania; and was re-elected by succeeding assemblies for several years, until he was chosen a representative for the city of Philadelphia.

Bradford was possessed of some advantages over Franklin, by being post-master, thereby having an opportunity of circulating his paper more extensively, and thus rendering it a better vehicle for advertisements, &c. Franklin, in his turn, enjoyed these advantages, by being appointed post-master of Philadelphia in 1737. Bradford, while in office, had acted ungenerously towards Franklin, preventing as much as possible the circulation of his paper. He had now an opportunity of retaliating; but his nobleness of soul preventing him from making use of it.

The police of Philadelphia had early appointed watchmen, whose duty it was to guard the citizens against the midnight robber, and to give an immediate alarm in case of fire. This duty is, perhaps, one of the most important that can be committed to any set of men. The regulations, however, were not sufficiently strict. Franklin saw the dangers arising from this cause, and suggested an alteration, so as to oblige the guardians of the night to be more watchful over the lives and property of the citizens. The propriety of this was immediately perceived, and a reform was effected.

There is nothing more dangerous to growing cities than fires. Other causes operate slowly, and almost imperceptibly, but these in a moment render abortive the labours of ages. On this account there should be, in all cities, ample provisions to prevent fires from spreading. Franklin early saw the necessity of these; and, about the year 1738, formed the first fire-company in this city. This example was soon followed by others; and there are now numerous fire companies in the city and liberties. To these may be attributed in a great degree the activity in extinguishing fires, for

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which the citizens of Philadelphia are diſtinguiſhed, and the inconſiderable damage which this city has ſuſtained from this cauſe.—Some time after, Franklin ſuggeſted the plan of an aſſociation for inſuring houſes from loſſes by fire, which was adopted; and the aſſociation continues to this day. The advantages experienced from it have been great.

From the firſt eſtabliſhment of Pennſylvania, a ſpirit of diſpute appears to have prevailed amongſt its inhabitants. During the life-time of William Penn the conſtitution had been three times altered. After this period, the hiſtory of Pennſylvania is little elſe than a recital of the quarrels between the proprietaries, or their governors, and the aſſembly. The proprietaries contended for the right of exempting their land from taxes; to which the aſſembly would by no means conſent. This ſubject of diſpute interfered in almoſt every queſtion, and prevented the moſt ſalutary laws from being enacted. This at Times ſubjected the people to great inconveniences. In the year 1744, during a war between France and Great Britain, ſome French and Indians had made inroads upon the frontier inhabitants of the province, who were unprovided for ſuch an attack. It became neceſſary that the citizens ſhould arm for their defence. Governor Thomas recommended to the aſſembly, who were then ſitting to paſs a militia law. To this they would agree only upon condition that he ſhould give his aſſent to certain laws, which appeared to them calculated to promote the intereſt of the people. As he thought theſe laws would be injurious to the proprietaries, he refuſed his aſſent to them; and the aſſembly broke up without paſſing a militia law. The ſituation of the province was at this time truly alarming: expoſed to the continual inroads of an enemy, and deſtitute of every means of defence. At this criſis Franklin ſtepped forth, and propoſed to a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, a plan of a voluntary aſſociation for the defence of the province. This was approved of, and ſigned by twelve hundred perſons immediately. Copies of it were circulated throughout

throughout the province; and in a short time the number of signers amounted to ten thousand. Franklin was chosen colonel of the Philadelphia regiment; but did not think proper to accept of the honour.

Pursuits of a different nature now occupied the greatest part of his attention for some years. He engaged in a course of electrical experiments, with all the ardor and thirst for discovery which characterized the philosophers of that day. Of all the branches of experimental philosophy, electricity had been least explored. The elective power of amber is mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny, and, from them by later naturalists. In the year 1600, Gilbert, an English physician, enlarged considerably the catalogue of substances which have the property of attracting light bodies. Boyle, Otto Guericke, a burgomaster of Magdeburgh, celebrated as the inventor of the air pump, Dr. Wall, and Sir Isaac Newton added some facts; Guericke first observed the repulsive power of electricity, and the light and noise produced by it.

In 1709, Hawkesbec communicated some important observations and experiments to the world. For several years electricity was entirely neglected, until Mr. Gray applied himself to it, in 1728, with great assiduity. He and his friend Mr. Wheeler, made a great variety of experiments; in which they demonstrated, that electricity may be communicated from one body to another, even without being in contact, and in this way may be conducted to a great distance. Mr. Gray afterwards found, that by suspending rods of iron by silk or hair lines, and bringing an excited tube under them, sparks might be drawn, and a light perceived at the extremities in the dark. M. Du Faye, intendant of the French king's gardens, made a number of experiments, which added not a little to the science. He made the discovery of two kinds of electricity, which he called *vitreous* and *resinous*; the former produced by rubbing glass, the latter from excited sulphur, sealing wax, &c. But this idea he afterwards gave up as erroneous. Between the years 1739 and 1742, Desagu-

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liers made a number of experiments, but added little of importance. He first used the terms *conductors* and *electrics*, *per se*. In 1742, several ingenious Germans engaged in this subject. Of these the principal were, professor Boze of Whittemberg, professor Winkler of Leipsic, Gordon, a Scotch Benedictine monk, professor of philosophy at Erfurt, and Dr. Ludolf of Berlin. The result of their researches astonished the philosophers of Europe. Their apparatus was large, and by means of it they were enabled to collect large quantities of electricity, and thus to produce phenomena which had been hitherto unobserved. They killed small birds, and set spirits on fire. Their experiments excited the curiosity of other philosophers. Collinson about the year 1745, sent to the library company of Philadelphia an account of these experiments, together with a tube, and directions how to use it. Franklin, with some of his friends, immediately engaged in a course of experiments; the result of which is well known. He was enabled to make a number of important discoveries, and to propose theories to account for various phenomena; which have been universally adopted, and which bid fair to endure for ages. His observations he communicated, in a series of letters, to his friend Collinson; the first of which is dated March 28th, 1747. In these he makes known the power of points in drawing and throwing off the electrical matter, which had hitherto escaped the notice of electricians. He also made the grand discovery of a *plus* and *minus*, or of a *positive* and *negative* state of electricity. We give him the honour of this, without hesitation; although the English have claimed it for their countryman Dr. Watson. Watson's paper is dated January 21, 1748; Franklin's July 11, 1747; several months prior. Shortly after, Franklin, from his principles of plus and minus state, explained, in a satisfactory manner, the phenomena of the Leyden phial, first observed by Mr. Cuneus, or by professor Muschenbroeck of Leyden, which had much perplexed philosophers. He shewed clearly that the bottle, when charged, contained

ed no more electricity than before, but that as much was taken from the one side as was thrown on the other; and that, to discharge it nothing was necessary but to make a communication between the two sides, by which the equilibrium might be restored, and that then no signs of electricity would remain.

He afterwards demonstrated, by experiments, that the electricity did not reside in the coating, as had been supposed, but in the pores of the glass itself. After a phial was charged, he removed the coating, and found that upon applying a new coating the shock might still be received. In the year 1749, he first suggested his idea of explaining the phenomena of thunder-gusts, and of the aurora borealis, upon electrical principles. He points out many particulars in which lightning and electricity agree; and he adduces many facts, and reasoning from facts, in support of his positions. In the same year he conceived the astonishingly bold and grand idea of ascertaining the truth of his doctrine, by actually drawing down the forked lightning, by means of sharp-pointed iron rods raised into the region of the clouds. Even in this uncertain state, his passion to be useful to mankind displays itself in a powerful manner. Admitting the identity of electricity and lightening, and knowing the power of points in repelling bodies charged with electricity, and in conducting their fire silently and imperceptibly, he suggests the idea of securing houses, ships, &c. from being damaged by lightning, by erecting pointed iron rods, which should rise some feet above the most elevated part, and descend some feet into the ground or the water. The effect of these, he concluded, would be either to prevent a stroke by repelling the cloud beyond the striking distance, or by drawing off the electrical fire which it contained; or, if they could not effect this, they would at least conduct the stroke to the earth, without any injury to the building.

It was not until the summer of 1752, that he was enabled to complete his grand and unparalleled discovery by experiment. The plan which he had originally

ly propoſed, was to erect on ſome high tower, or other elevated place, a centry-box, from which ſhould riſe a pointed iron rod, inſulated by being fixed in a cake of roſin. Electrified clouds paſſing over this, would he conceived, impart to it a portion of their electricity, which would be rendered evident to the ſenſes by ſparks being emitted, when a key, a knuckle, or other conductor, was preſented to it. Philadelphia at this time afforded no opportunity of trying an experiment of this kind. Whilſt Franklin was waiting for the erection of a ſpire, it occurred to him, that he might have more ready acceſs to the region of clouds by means of a common kite. He prepared one by attaching two croſs ſticks to a ſilk handerchief, which would not ſuffer ſo much from the rain as paper. To this upright ſtick was fixed an iron point. The ſtring was, as uſual, of hemp, except the lower end, which was ſilk. Where the hemp ſtring terminated, a key was faſtened. With this apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder-guſt approaching, he went out into the commons, accompanied by his ſon, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, well knowing the ridicule which too generally for the intereſt of ſcience, awaits unſucceſsful experiments in philoſophy.

He placed himſelf under a ſhed to avoid the rain. His kite was raiſed. A thunder cloud paſſed over it. No ſign of electricity appeared. He almoſt deſpaired of ſucceſs; when ſuddenly he obſerved the looſe fibres of his ſtring to move towards an erect poſition. He now preſented his knuckle to the key, and received a ſtrong ſpark. How exquiſite muſt his ſenſations have been at this moment! On this experiment depended the fate of his theory. If he ſucceeded, his name would rank high amongſt thoſe who have improved ſcience; if he failed, he muſt inevitably be ſubjected to the deriſion of mankind, or, what is worſe, their pity, as a well-meaning man, but a weak, ſilly projector. The anxiety with which he looked for the reſult of his experiment, may eaſily be conceived. Doubts and deſpair had begun to prevail, when the fact

fact was ascertained in so clear a manner, that even the most incredulous could no longer withhold their assent. Repeated sparks were drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made, which are usually performed with electricity.

About a month before this period some ingenious Frenchman had completed the discovery, in the manner originally proposed by Dr. Franklin. The letters which he sent to Mr. Collinson, it is said, were refused a place amongst the papers of the Royal Society of London. However, this may be, Collinson published them in a separate volume, under the title of *New Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America.* They were read with avidity, and soon translated into different languages. A very incorrect French translation fell into the hands of the celebrated Buffon, who, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the work laboured, was much pleased with it, and repeated the experiments with success. He prevailed upon his friend, M. D'Alibard, to give his countrymen a more correct translation of the work of the American electrician. This contributed much towards spreading a knowledge of Franklin's principles in France.—The king, Louis XV, hearing of these experiments expressed a wish to be a spectator of them. A course of experiments was given at the seat of the Duc D'Ayen, at St. Germaine, by M. De Lor. The applauses which the king bestowed upon Franklin, excited in Buffon, D'Alibard, and De Lor, an earnest desire of ascertaining the truth of his theory of thunder-gusts. Buffon erected his apparatus on the tower of Montbar. M. D'Alibard at Mary-la-ville, and De Lor at his house in the *Estrapade* at Paris, some of the highest ground in that capital. D'Alibard's machine first shewed signs of electricity. On the 10th of May, 1752, a thunder cloud passed over it, in the absence of M. D'Alibard; and a number of sparks were drawn from it by Coiffier, a joiner, with whom D'Alibard had left directions how

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to proceed, and by M. Raulet, the prior of Mary-laville. An account of this experiment was given to the Royal Academy of Sciences, in a memoir by M. D'Alibard, dated May 13th, 1752. On the 18th of May, M. De Lor proved equally ſucceſsful with the apparatus erected at his own houſe. Theſe diſcoveries ſoon excited the philoſophers of other parts of Europe to repeat the experiment. Amongſt theſe, none ſignalized themſelves more than father Beccaria of Turin, to whoſe obſervations ſcience is much indebted. Even the cold Regions of Ruſſia were penetrated by the ardor for diſcovery. Profeſſor Richman bade fair to add much to the ſtock of knowledge on this ſubject, when an unfortunate flaſh from his rod put a period to his exiſtence.—The friends of ſcience will long remember with regret the amiable martyr to electricity.

By theſe experiments Franklin's theory was eſtabliſhed in the moſt firm manner. When the truth of it could no longer be doubted, the vanity of men endeavoured to detract from its merit. That an American, an inhabitant of the obſcure city of Philadelphia, the name of which was hardly known, ſhould be able to make diſcoveries, and to frame theories, which had eſcaped the notice of the enlightened philoſophers of Europe, was too mortifying to be admitted. He muſt certainly have taken the idea from ſomebody elſe. An American, a being of an inferior order, make diſcoveries! Impoſſible. It was ſaid, that the Abbe Nollet, in 1748, had ſuggeſted the idea of the ſimilarity of lightning and electricity, in his *Lecons de Phyſique*. It is true, that the Abbe mentions the idea, but he throws it out as a bare conjecture, and propoſes no mode of aſcertaining the truth of it. He himſelf acknowledges, that Franklin firſt entertained the bold thought of bringing lightning from the heavens, by means of pointed rods fixed in the air. The ſimilarity of electricity and lightning is ſo ſtrong, that we need not be ſurpriſed at notice being taken of it, as ſoon as electrical phenomena became familiar. We find it

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mentioned by Dr. Wall and Mr. Gray, while the ſcience was in its infancy. But the honour of forming a regular theory of thunder-guſts, of ſuggeſting a mode of determining the truth of it by experiments, and of putting theſe experiments in practice, and thus eſtabliſhing his theory upon a firm and ſolid baſis, is inconteſtibly due to Franklin. D'Alibard, who made the experiments in France, ſays, that he only followed the track which Franklin had pointed out.

It has been of late aſſerted, that the honour of completing the experiment with the electrical kite, does not belong to Franklin. Some late Engliſh paragraphs have attributed it to ſome Frenchman, whoſe name they did not mention; and the Abbe Berthelon gives it to M. De Romas, aſſeſſor to the preſident of Nerac; the Engliſh paragraphs probably refer to the ſame perſon. But a very ſlight attention will convince us of the injuſtice of this procedure: Dr. Franklin's experiment was made in June 1752: and his letter, giving an account of it, is dated October 19, 1752, M. De Romas made his firſt attempt on the 14th of May 1753, but was not ſucceſsful until the 7th of June; a year after Franklin had completed the diſcovery, and when it was known to all the philoſophers in Europe.

Beſides theſe great principles, Franklin's letters on electricity contain a number of facts and hints, which have contributed greatly towards reducing this branch of knowledge to a ſcience. His friend, Mr. Kinnerſly, communicated to him a diſcovery of the different kinds of electricity excited by rubbing glaſs and ſulpher. This, we have ſaid, was firſt obſerved by M. Du Faye; but it was for many years neglected. The philoſophers were diſpoſed to account for the phenomena, rather from a difference in the quantity of electricity collected; and even Du Faye himſelf ſeems at laſt to have adopted this Doctrine. Franklin at firſt entertained the ſame idea; but upon repeating the experiments, he perceived that Mr. Kinnerſley was right; and that the *vitreous* and *reſinous* electricity of Du Faye

Faye were nothing more than the *positive* and *negative* ſtates which he had before obſerved; that the glaſs globe charged *positively*, or increaſed the quantity of electricity on the prime conductor, whilſt the globe of ſulpher diminiſhed its natural quantity, or charged *negatively*. Theſe experiment, and obſervations opened a new field for inveſtigation, upon which electricians entered with avidity; and their labours have added much to the ſtock of our knowledge.

In September, 1752, Franklin entered upon a courſe of experiments, to determine the ſtate of electricity in the clouds. From a number of experiments he formed this concluſion: "that the clouds of a thunder-guſt are moſt commonly in a negative ſtate of electricity, but ſometimes in a poſitive ſtate;" and from this it follows, as a neceſſary conſequence, "that, for the moſt part, in thunder-ſtrokes, it is the earth that ſtrikes into the clouds, and not the clouds that ſtrike into the earth." The letter containing theſe obſervations is dated in September, 1753; and yet the diſcovery of aſcending thunder has been ſaid to be of a modern date and has been attributed to the Abbe Bertholon, who publiſhed his memoir on the ſubject in 1776.

Franklin's letters have been tranſlated into moſt of the European languages, and into Latin. In proportion as they have become known, his principles have been adopted. Some oppoſition was made to his theories, particularly by the Abbe Nollet, who was, however, but feebly ſupported, whilſt the firſt philoſophers of Europe ſtepped forth in defence of Franklin's principles; amongſt whom D'Alibard and Beccaria were the moſt diſtinguiſhed. The oppoſition has gradually ceaſed, and the Franklin ſyſtem is now univerſally adopted, where ſcience flouriſhes.

The important practical uſe which Franklin made of his diſcoveries, the ſecuring of houſes from injury by lightning, has been already mentioned. Pointed conductors are now very common in America; but prejudice has hitherto prevented their general introduction into Europe, notwithſtanding the moſt undoubted

doubted proofs of their utility have been given. But mankind can with difficulty be brought to lay aſide eſtabliſhed practices, or to adopt new ones. And perhaps we have more reaſon to be ſurpriſed that a practice, however rational, which was propoſed about forty years ago, ſhould in that time have been adopted in ſo many places, than that it has not univerſally prevailed. It is only by degrees that the great body of mankind can be led into new practices, however ſalutary their tendency. It is now nearly eight years ſince inoculation was introduced into Europe and America; and it is ſo far from being general at preſent, that it will, perhaps, require one or two centuries to render it ſo.

In the year 1745, Franklin publiſhed an account of his new invented Pennſylvania fire-places, in which he minutely and accurately ſtates the advantages and diſadvantages of different kinds of fire-places; and endeavours to ſhew that the one which he deſcribes is to be preferred to any other. This contrivance has given riſe to the open ſtoves now in general uſe, which however differ from it in conſtruction, particularly in not having an air-box at the back, through which a conſtant ſupply of air, warmed in its paſſage, is thrown into the room. The advantages of this are, that as a ſtream of warm air is continually flowing into the room, leſs fuel is neceſſary to preſerve a proper temperature, and the room may be ſo tightened as that no air may enter through cracks; the conſequences of which are colds, toothaches, &c.

Although philoſophy was a principal object of Franklin's purſuit for ſeveral years, he confined himſelf not to this. In the year 1747, he became a member of the general aſſembly of Pennſylvania, as a burgeſs for the city of Philadelphia. Warm diſputes at this time ſubſiſted between the aſſembly and the proprietaries; each contending for what they conceived to be their juſt rights. Franklin, a friend to the rights of man from his infancy, ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſteady opponent of the unjuſt ſchemes of the proprietaries.—

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He was ſoon looked up to as the head of the oppoſition; and to him have been attributed many of the ſpirited replies of the aſſembly, to the meſſages of the governors. His influence in the body was very great. This aroſe not from any ſuperior powers of eloquence; he ſpoke but ſeldom, and he never was known to make any thing like an elaborate harrangue. His ſpeeches often conſiſted of a ſingle ſentence, or of a well-told ſtory, the moral of which was always obviouſly to the point. He never attempted the flowery fields of oratory. His manner was plain and mild. His ſtyle in ſpeaking was, like that of his writings, remarkably conciſe. With this plain manner, and his penetrating and ſolid judgment, he was able to confound the moſt eloquent and ſubtle of his adverſaries, to confirm the opinions of his friends, and to make converts of the unprejudiced who had oppoſed him. With a ſingle obſervation, he has rendered of no avail an elegant and lengthy diſcourſe, and determined the fate of a queſtion of importance.

But he was not contented with thus ſupporting the rights of the people. He wiſhed to render them permanently ſecure, which can only be done by making their value properly known; and this muſt depend upon increaſing and extending information to every claſs of men. We have already ſeen that he was the founder of the public library, which contributed greatly towards improving the minds of the citizens. But this was not ſufficient. The ſchools then ſubſiſting were in general of little utility. The teachers were men ill qualified for the important duty which they had undertaken; and, after all, nothing more could be obtained than the rudiments of a common Engliſh education. Franklin drew up a plan of an academy, to be erected in the city of Philadelphia, ſuited to "the ſtate of an infant country;" but in this, as in all his plans, he confined not his views to the preſent time only. He looked forward to the period when an inſtitution on an enlarged plan would become neceſſary. With this view he conſidered his academy as "a foundation for poſterity

posterity to erect a seminary of learning, more extensive, and suitable to future circumstances." In pursuance of this plan, the constitutions were drawn up and signed on the 13th of November 1749. In these twenty-four of the most respectable citizens of Philadelphia were named as trustees. In the choice of these, and in the formation of his plan, Franklin is said to have consulted chiefly with Thomas Hopkinson, Esq. Rev. Richard Peters, then secretary of the province, Tench Francis, Esq. attorney-general, and Dr. Phineas Bond.

The following article shews a spirit of benevolence worthy of imitation; and, for the honour of our city, we hope that it continues to be in force.

"In case of the inability of the *rector*, or any master, (established on the foundation by receiving a certain salary) through sickness, or any other natural infirmity, whereby he may be reduced to poverty, the trustees shall have power to contribute to his support, in proportion to his distress and merit, and the stock in their hands."

The last clause of the fundamental rules is expressed in language so tender and benevolent, so truly parental, that it will do everlasting honour to the hearts and heads of the founders.

"It is hoped and expected that the trustees will make it their pleasure, and in some degree their business, to visit the academy often; to encourage and countenance the youth, countenance and assist the masters, and by all means in their power advance the usefulness and reputation of the design, that they will look on the students as, in some measure, their own children, treat them with familiarity and affection; and when they have behaved well, gone through their studies, and are to enter the world, they shall zealously unite, and make all the interest that can be made, to promote and establish them, whether in business, offices, marriages, or any other thing for their advantage, preferable to all other persons whatsoever, even of equal merit."

The

The conſtitutions being ſigned and made public, with the names of the gentlemen propoſing themſelves as truſtees and founders, the deſign was ſo well approved of by the public-ſpirited citizens of Philadelphia, that the ſum of eight hundred pounds per annum, for five years, was in the courſe of a few weeks ſubſcribed for carrying the plan into execution; and in the beginning of January following (viz. 1750) three of the ſchools were opened, namely, the Latin and Greek ſchools, the Mathematical and the Engliſh ſchools. In purſuance of an article in the original plan, a ſchool for educating ſixty boys and thirty girls (in the charter ſince called the Charitable School) was opened, and amidſt all the difficulties with which the truſtees have ſtruggled in reſpect to their funds has ſtill been continued full for the ſpace of forty years; ſo that allowing three years education for each boy and girl admitted into it, which is the general rule, at leaſt twelve hundred children have received in it the chief part of their education, who might otherwiſe, in a great meaſure have been left without the means of inſtruction. And many of thoſe who have been thus educated, are now to be found among the moſt uſeful and reputable citizens of this ſtate.

The inſtitution, thus ſucceſsfully begun, continued daily to flouriſh, to the great ſatisfaction of Dr. Franklin; who notwithſtanding the multiplicity of his other engagements and purſuits at that buſy ſtage of his life, was a conſtant attendant at the monthly viſitations and examinations of the ſchools, and made it his particular ſtudy, by means of his extenſive correſpondence abroad, to advance the reputation of the ſeminary, and to draw ſtudents and ſcholars to it from different parts of America and the Weſt Indies. Through the interpoſition of his benevolent and learned friend, Peter Collinſon, of London, upon the application of the truſtees, a charter of incorporation, dated July 13, 1753, was obtained from the honourable proprietors of Pennſylvania, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Eſqrs. accompanied with a liberal benefaction of five hundred pounds ſterling;

ling; and Dr. Franklin now began in good earneſt to pleaſe himſelf with the hopes of a ſpeedy accompliſhment of his original deſign, viz, the eſtabliſhment of a perfect inſtitution, upon the plan of the European colleges and univerſities; for which his academy was intended as a nurſery or foundation. To elucidate this fact, is a matter of conſiderable importance in reſpect to the memory and character of Dr. Franklin, as a philoſopher, and as the friend and patron of learning and ſcience; for, notwithſtanding what is expreſsly declared by him in the preamble to the conſtitutions, viz. that the academy was begun for "teaching the Latin and Greek languages, with all uſeful branches of the arts and ſciences, ſuitable to the ſtate of an infant country, and laying a foundation for poſterity to erect a ſeminary of learning more extenſive, and ſuitable to their future circumſtances;" yet it has been ſuggeſted of late, as upon Dr. Franklin's authority, that the Latin and Greek, or the dead languages, are an incumbrance upon a ſcheme of liberal education, and that the ingrafting or founding a college, or more extenſive ſeminary, upon his academy, was without his approbation or agency, and gave him diſcontent. If the reverſe of this does not already appear, from what has been quoted above, the following letters will put the matter beyond diſpute. They were written by him to a gentleman, who had at that time publiſhed the idea of a college, ſuited to the circumſtances of young country, (meaning New-York) a copy of which having been ſent to Dr. Franklin for his opinion, give riſe to that correſpondence which terminated about a year afterwards, in erecting the college upon the foundation of the academy, and eſtabliſhing that gentleman as the head of both, where he ſtill continues, after a period of thirty-ſix years, to preſide with diſtinguiſhed reputation.

From theſe letters alſo, the ſtate of the academy, at that time, will be ſeen.

Philad.

Philad. April 19, 1753.

SIR,

I received your favour of the 11th inſtant, with your new* piece on *Education*, which I ſhall carefully peruſe, and give you my ſentiments of it, as you deſire, by next poſt.

I believe the young gentlemen, your pupils, may be entertained and inſtructed here, in mathematics and philoſophy, to ſatisfaction. Mr. Aliſon† (who was educated at Glaſgow) has been long accuſtomed to teach the latter, and Mr. Grew‡ the former; and I think their pupils make great progreſs. Mr. Alliſon has the care of the Latin and Greek ſchool, but as he has now three good aſſiſtants,‖ he can very well afford ſome hours every day for the inſtruction of thoſe who are engaged in higher ſtudies. The mathematical ſchool is pretty well furniſhed with inſtruments. The Engliſh library is a good one; and we have belonging to it a middling apparatus for experimental philoſophy, and purpoſe ſpeedily to complete it. The Loganian library, one of the beſt collections in America, will ſhortly be opened; ſo that neither books nor inſtruments will be wanting; and as we are determined always to give good ſalaries, we have reaſon to believe we may have always an opportunity of chuſing good maſters; upon which, indeed, the ſucceſs of the whole depends. We are obliged to you for your kind offers, in this reſpect, and when you are ſettled in England, we may occaſionally make uſe of your friendſhip and judgment.—

If

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* *General idea of the college of Marania.*

† *The Rev. and learned Mr. Francis Aliſon, afterwards D. D. and vice-provoſt of the college.*

‡ *Mr. Theophilus Grew, afterwards profeſſor of mathematics in the college.*

‖ *Thoſe aſſiſtants were at that time Mr. Charles Thomſon, late ſecretary of congreſs, Mr. Paul Jackſon, and Mr. Jacob Duche.*

If it suits your conveniency to visit Philadelphia before you return to Europe, I shall be extremely glad to see and converse with you here, as well as to correspond with you after your settlement in England; for an acquaintance and communication with men of learning, virtue and public spirit, is one of my greatest enjoyments.

I do not know whether you ever happened to see the first propofals I made for erecting this academy. I send them inclosed. They had (however imperfect) the desired success, being followed by a subscription of *four thousand pounds*, towards carrying them into execution. And as we are fond of receiving advice, and are daily improving by experience, I am in hopes we shall, in a few years, see a *perfect institution.*

I am very respectfully, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Mr. W. Smith, Long-Island.

Philad. May 3d, 1753.

Sir,

Mr. Peters has just now been with me, and we have compared notes on your new piece. We find nothing in the scheme of education, however excellent, but what is, in our opinion, very practicable. The great difficulty will be to find the Aratus,* and other suitable persons, to carry it into execution; but such may be had if proper encouragement be given. We have both received great pleasure in the perusal of it. For my part, I know not when I have read a piece that has more affected me—so noble and just are the sentiments

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* *The name given to the principal or head of the ideal college, the system of education in which hath nevertheless been nearly realized, or followed as a model, in the college and academy of Philadelphia, and some other American seminaries, for many years past.*

ments, so warm and animated the language; yet as censure from your friends may be of more use, as well as more agreeable to you than praise, I ought to mention, that I wish you had omitted not only the quotation from the Review,* which you are now justly dissatisfied with, but those expressions of resentment against your adversaries, in pages 65 and 79. In such cases, the noblest victory is obtained by neglect, and by shining on.

Mr. Allen has been out of town these ten days; but before he went he directed me to procure him six copies of your piece. Mr. Peters has taken ten. He purposed to have written to you; but omits it, as he expects so soon to have the pleasure of seeing you here. He desires me to present his affectionate compliments to you, and to assure you that you will be very welcome to him. I shall only say, that you may depend on my doing all in my power to make your visit to Philadelphia agreeable to you.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Mr. Smith.

Philad. Nov. 27th, 1753.

DEAR SIR,

Having written you fully, *via* Bristol, I have now little to add. Matters relating to the academy remain in *statu quo*. The trustees would be glad to see a rector established there, but they dread entering into new engagements till they are out of debt; and I have not

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* *The quotation alluded to (from the London Monthly Review for* 1749,*) was judged to reflect too severely on the discipline and government of the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and was expunged from the following editions of this work.*

not yet got them wholly over to my opinion, that a good profeſſor, or teacher of the higher branches of learning would draw ſo many ſcholars as to pay great part, if not the whole of his ſalary. Thus, unleſs the proprietors (of the province) ſhall think fit to put the finiſhing hand to our inſtitution, it muſt, I fear, wait ſome few years longer before it can arrive at that ſtate of perfection, which to me it ſeems now capable of; and all the pleaſure I promiſed myſelf in ſeeing you ſettled among us, vaniſhes into ſmoke.

But good Mr. Collinſon writes me word, that no endeavors of his ſhall be wanting; and he hopes, with the archbiſhop's aſſiſtance, to be able to prevail with our proprietors*. I pray God grant them ſucceſs.

My ſon preſents his affectionate regards, with dear ſir,

Yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I have not been favoured with a line from you ſince your arrival in England.

Philadelphia, April 18th, 1754.

Dear Sir,

I have had but one letter from you ſince your arrival in England, which was a ſhort one, *via.* Boſton, dated October 18th, acquainting me that you had written

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* *Upon the application of archbiſhop Herring and P. Collinſon, eſq. at Dr. Franklin's request, (aided by the letters of Mr. Allen and Mr. Peters) the Hon. Thomas Penn, eſq. ſubſcribed an annual ſum, and afterwards gave at leaſt, 5000l to the founding or engrafting the college upon the academy.*

ten largely by Capt. Davis—Davis was loſt, and with him your letters, to my great diſappointment.—Meſnard and Gibbon have ſince arrived here, and I hear nothing from you.—My comfort is, an imagination that you only omit writing becauſe you are coming, and purpoſe to tell me every thing *viva voce*. So not knowing whether this letter will reach you, and hoping either to ſee or hear from you by the Myrtilla, capt. Buddon's ſhip, which is daily expected, I only add, that I am, with great eſteem and affection,

Yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Mr. Smith.

About a month after the date of this laſt letter, the gentleman to whom it was addreſſed arrived in Philadelphia, and was immediately placed at the head of the ſeminary: whereby Dr. Franklin, and the other truſtees were enabled to proſecute their plan, for perfecting the inſtitution, and opening the college upon the large and liberal foundation on which it now ſtands; for which purpoſe they obtained their additional charter, dated May 27th, 1755.

Thus far we thought it proper to exhibit in one view Dr. Franklin's ſervices in the foundation and eſtabliſhment of this ſeminary. He ſoon afterward embarked for England, in the public ſervice of his country; and having been generally employed abroad in the like ſervice, for the greateſt part of the remainder of his life (as will appear in our ſubſequent account of the ſame) he had but few opportunities of taking any further active part in the affairs of the ſeminary, until his final return in the year 1785, when he found its charters violated, and his ancient colleagues the original founders, deprived of their truſt, by an act of the legiſlature, and although his own name had been inſerted among the new truſtees, yet he declined to take

take his seat among them, or any concern in the management of their affairs, till the institution was restored by law to its original owners. He then assembled his old colleagues at his own house, and being chosen their president, all their future meetings were at his request, held there, till within a few months of his death, when with reluctance, and at their desire, lest he might be too much injured by his attention to their business, he suffered them to meet at the college.

Franklin not only gave birth to many useful institutions himself, but he was also instrumental in promoting those which had originated with other men. About the year 1752, an eminent physician of this city, Dr. Bond, considering the deplorable state of the poor, when visited with disease, conceived the idea of establishing an hospital. Notwithstanding very great exertions on his part, he was able to interest few people so far in his benevolent plan, as to obtain subscriptions from them. Unwilling that his scheme should prove abortive, he sought the aid of Franklin, who readily engaged in the business, both by using his influence with his friends, and by stating the advantageous influence of the proposed institution in his paper. These efforts were attended with success. Considerable sums were subscribed; but they were still short of what was necessary Franklin now made another exertion. He applied to the assembly; and, after some opposition obtained leave to bring in a bill, specifying that as soon as two thousand pounds were subscribed, the same sum should be drawn from the treasury by the speaker's warrant, to be applied to the purposes of the institution. The opposition, as the sum was granted upon a contingency which they supposed would never take place, were silent, and the bill passed. The friends of the plan now redoubled their efforts, to obtain subscriptions to the amount stated in the bill, and were soon successful. This was the foundation of the Pennsylvania Hospital, which, with the Bettering-house and Dispensary

Dispensary, bears ample testimony of the humanity of the citizens of Philadelphia.

Dr. Franklin had conducted himself so well in the office of post-master, and had shown himself to be so well acquainted with the business of that department that it was thought expedient to raise him to a more dignified station. In 1753 he was appointed deputy post-master-general for the British colonies. The profits arising from the postage of the revenue, which the crown of Great Britain derived from the colonies. In the hands of Franklin, it is said, that the post-office in America yielded annually thrice as much as that of Ireland.

The American colonies were much exposed to depredations on their frontiers, by the Indians; and more particularly whenever a war took place between France and England. The colonies, individually, were either too weak to take efficient measures for their own defence, or they were unwilling to take upon themselves the whole burden of erecting forts and maintaining garrisons, whilst their neighbours, who partook equally with themselves of the advantages, contributed nothing to the expence. Sometimes also the disputes, which subsisted between the governors and assemblies, prevented the adoption of means of defence; as we have seen was the case in Pennsylvania in 1745. To devise a plan of union between the colonies, to regulate this and other matters, appeared a desirable object. To accomplish this, in the year 1754, commissioners from New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, met at Albany. Dr. Franklin attended here, as a commissioner from Pennsylvania, and produced a plan, which, from the place of meeting, has been usually termed "The Albany Plan of Union." This proposed, that application should be made for an act of parliament, to establish in the colonies a general government, to be administered by a president-general, appointed, by the crown, and by a grand council, consisting of members chosen by the representatives of the different

different colonies; their number to be in direct proportion to the sums paid by each colony into the general treasury, with this restriction, that no colony should have more than seven, nor less than two representatives. The whole executive authority was committed to the president-general. The power of legislation was lodged in the grand council and president-general jointly; his consent being made necessary to passing a bill into a law. The power vested in the president and council were, to declare war and peace, and to conclude treaties with the Indian nations; to regulate trade with, and to make purchases of vacant lands from them, either in the name of the crown, or of the union: to settle new colonies, to make laws for governing these until they should be erected into separate governments, and to raise troops, build forts, fit out armed vessels and use other means for the general defence: and, to effect these things, a power was given to make laws laying such duties, imposts, or taxes, as they should find necessary, and as would be least burdensome to the people. All laws were to be sent to England for the king's approbation; and unless disapproved of within three years, were to remain in force. All officers in the land or sea service were to be nominated by the president-general, and approved of by the general council; civil officers were to be nominated by the council, and approved by the president. Such are the outlines of the plan proposed, for the consideration of the congress, by Dr. Franklin. After several days' discussion, it was unanimously agreed to by the commissioners, a copy transmitted to each assembly, and one to the king's council. The fate of it was singular. It was disapproved of by the ministry of Great Britain, because it gave too much power to the representatives of the people; and it was rejected by every assembly, as giving to the president-general, the representative of the crown, an influence greater than appeared to them proper, in a plan of government intended for freemen. Perhaps this rejection, on both sides, is the strongest proof that could be adduced of the excellence of it, as suited

ſuited to the ſituation of America and Great-Britain at that time. It appears to have ſteered exactly in the middle, between the oppoſite intereſts of both.

Whether the adoption of this plan would have prevented the ſeparation of America from Great-Britain, is a queſtion which might afford much room for ſpeculation. It may be ſaid, that, by enabling the colonies to defend themſelves, it would have removed the pretext upon which the ſtamp-act, tea-act, and other acts of the Britiſh parliament, were paſſed; which excited a ſpirit of oppoſition, and laid the foundation for the ſeparation of the two countries. But, on the other hand, it muſt be admitted, that the reſtriction laid by Great Britain upon our commerce, obliging us to ſell our produce to her citizens only, and to take from them various articles, of which, as our manufactures were diſcouraged, we ſtood in need, at a price greater than that for which they could have been obtained from other nations, muſt inevitably produce diſſatisfaction, even though no duties were impoſed by the parliament: a circumſtance which might ſtill have taken place. Beſides, as the preſident-general was to be appointed by the crown, he muſt, of neceſſity, be devoted to its views, and would therefore, refuſe his aſſent to any laws, however ſalutary to the community, which had the moſt remote tendency to injure the intereſts of his ſovereign. Even ſhould they receive his aſſent, the approbation of the king was to be neceſſary; who would indubitably, in every inſtance, prefer the advantage of his home dominions to that of his colonies. Hence would enſue perpetual diſagreements between the council and the preſident-general, and thus, between the people of America and the crown of Great Britain: While the colonies continued weak, they would be obliged to ſubmit, and as ſoon as they acquired ſtrength they would become more urgent in their demands, until, at length, they would ſhake off the yoke, and declare themſelves independent.

Whilſt the French were in poſſeſſion of Canada, their trade with the natives extended very far; even to the back

back of the British settlements. They were disposed, from time to time, to establish posts within the territory, which the British claimed as their own. Independent of the injury to the fur-trade, which was considerable, the colonies suffered this further inconvenience, that the Indians were frequently instigated to commit depredations on their frontiers. In the year 1753, encroachments were made upon the boundaries of Virginia. Remonstrances had no effect. In the ensuing year, a body of men was sent out under the command of Mr. Washington, who, though a very young man, had, by his conduct in the preceding year, shewn himself worthy of such an important trust. Whilst marching to take possession of the post at the junction of the Allegany and Monongahela, he was informed that the French had already erected a fort there. A detachment of their men marched against him. He fortified himself as strongly as time and circumstances would permit. A superiority of numbers soon obliged him to surrender *Fort Necessity*. He obtained honourable terms for himself and men, and returned to Virginia. The government of Great-Britain now thought it necessary to interfere. In the year 1755, General Braddock, with some regiments of regular troops, and provincial levies, was sent to dispossess the French of the posts upon which they had seized. After the men were all ready, a difficulty occurred, which had nearly prevented the expedition. This was the want of waggons. Franklin now stepped forward, and with the assistance of his son, in a little time procured a hundred and fifty. Braddock unfortunately fell into an ambuscade, and perished, with a number of his men. Washington, who had accompanied him as an aid-de-camp, and had warned him, in vain of his danger, now displayed great military talents in effecting a retreat of the remains of the army, and in forming a junction with the rear, under colonel Dunbar, upon whom the chief command now devolved. With some difficulty they brought their little body to a place of safety; but they found it necessary to destroy their waggons.

waggons and baggage to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. For the waggons which he had furnished, Franklin had given bonds to a large amount. The owners declared their intentions of obliging him to make a restitution of their property. Had they put their threats in execution, ruin must inevitably have been the consequence. Governor Shirely, finding that he had incurred these debts for the service of government, made arrangements to have them discharged, and released Franklin from his disagreeable situation.

The alarm spread through the colonies, after the defeat of Braddock, was very great. Preparations to arm were every where made. In Pennsylvania, the prevalence of the quaker interest prevented the adoption of any system of defence which would compel the citizens to bear arms. Franklin introduced into the assembly a bill for organizing a militia, by which every man was allowed to take arms or not, as to him should appear fit. The quakers, being thus left at liberty, suffered the bill to pass; for although their principles would not suffer them to fight, they had no objections to their neighbours fighting for them. In consequence of this act a very respectable militia was formed. The sense of impending danger infused a military spirit in all, whose religious tenets were not opposed to war. Franklin was appointed colonel of a regiment in Philadelphia, which consisted of 1200 men.

The north-western frontier being invaded by the enemy, it became necessary to adopt measures for its defence. Franklin was directed by the governor to take charge of this business. A power of raising men, and of appointing officers to command them, was vested in him. He soon levied a body of troops, with which he repaired to the place at which their presence was necessary. Here he built a fort, and placed the garrison in such a posture of defence, as would enable them to withstand the inroads to which the inhabitants had previously been exposed. He remained here for some time, in order the more completely to discharge the

trust

truſt committed to him. Some buſineſs of importance rendered his preſence neceſſary in the aſſembly, and he returned to Philadelphia.

The defence of her colonies was a great expence to Great Britain. The moſt effectual mode of leſſening this was, to put arms into the hands of the inhabitants and to teach them their uſe. But England wiſhed not that the Americans ſhould become acquainted with their own ſtrength. She was apprehenſive, that, as ſoon as this period arrived, they would no longer ſubmit to that monopoly of their trade, which to them was highly injurious, but extremely advantageous to the mother country. In compariſon with the profits of this, the expence of maintaining armies and ſtates to defend them was trifling. She ſought to keep them dependent upon her for protection, the beſt plan which could be deviſed for retaining them in peaceable ſubjection. The leaſt appearance of a military ſpirit was therefore to be guarded againſt, and, although a war then raged, the act organizing a militia was diſapproved of by the miniſtry. The regiments which had been formed under it were diſbanded, and the defence of the province entruſted to regular troops.

The diſputes between the proprietaries and the people continued in full force, although a war was raging on the frontiers. Not even the ſenſe of danger was ſufficient to reconcile, for ever ſo ſhort a time, their jarring intereſts. The aſſembly ſtill inſiſted upon the juſtice of taxing the proprietary eſtates, but the govenors conſtantly, refuſed to give their aſſent to this meaſure, without which no bill could paſs into a law. Enraged at the obſtinacy, and what they conceived to be unjuſt proceedings of their opponents, the aſſembly at length determined to apply to the mother country for relief. A petition was addreſſed to the king, in council, ſtating the inconveniencies under which the inhabitants laboured, from the attention of the proprietaries to their private intereſts, to the neglect of the general welfare of the community, and praying for redreſs. Franklin was appointed to preſent this addreſs

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as agent for the province of Pennsylvania, and departed from America in June 1757. In conformity to the instructions which he had received from the legislature, held a conference with the proprietaries, who then resided in England, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to give up the long-contested point. Finding that they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he laid his petition before the council. During this time governor Denny assented to a law imposing a tax, in which no discrimination was made in favour of the estates of the Penn family. They, alarmed at this intelligence, and Franklin's exertions, used their utmost exertions to prevent the royal sanction being given to this law, which they represented as highly iniquitous, designed to throw the burden of supporting government on them, and calculated to produce the most ruinous consequences to them and their posterity. The cause was amply discussed before the privy council. The Penns found here some strenuous advocates; nor were there wanting some who warmly espoused the side of the people. After some time spent in debate, a proposal was made, that Franklin should solemnly engage, that the assessment of the tax should be so made, as that the proprietary estates should pay no more than a due proportion. This he agreed to perform, the Penn family withdrew their opposition, and tranquility was thus once more restored to the province.

The mode in which this dispute was determined is a striking proof of the high opinion entertained of Franklin's integrity and honour, even by those who considered him as inimical to their views. Nor was their confidence ill-founded. The assessment was made upon the strictest principles of equity; and the proprietary estates bore only a proportionable share of the expences of supporting government.

After the completion of this important business, Franklin remained at the court of Great Britain, as agent for the province of Pennsylvania. The extensive knowledge which he possessed of the situation of the colonies, and the regard which he always manifested

ed for their intereſts, occaſioned his appointment to the ſame office by the colonies of Maſſachuſetts, Maryland, and Georgia. His conduct, in this ſituation, was ſuch as rendered him ſtill more dear to his countrymen.

He had now an opportunity of indulging in the ſociety of thoſe friends, whom his merits had procured him while at a diſtance. The regard which they had entertained for him was rather encreaſed by a perſonal acquaintance. The oppoſition which had been made to his diſcoveries in philoſophy gradually ceaſed, and the rewards of literary merit were abundantly conferred upon him. The royal ſociety of London, which had at firſt refuſed his performances admiſſion into its tranſactions, now thought it an honour to rank him among its fellows. Other ſocieties of Europe were equally ambitious of calling him a member. The univerſity of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Its example was followed by the univerſities of Edinburgh and of Oxford. His correſpondence was ſought for by the moſt eminent philoſophers of Europe. His letters to theſe abound with true ſcience, delivered in the moſt ſimple unadorned manner.

The province of Canada was at this time in the poſſeſſion of the French, who had originally ſettled it. The trade with the Indians, for which its ſituation was very convenient, was exceedingly lucrative. The French traders here found a market for their commodities, and received in return large quantities of rich furs, which they diſpoſed of at a high price in Europe. Whilſt the poſſeſſion of this country was highly advantageous to France, it was a grievous inconvenience to the inhabitants of the Britiſh colonies. The Indians were almoſt generally deſirous to cultivate the friendſhip of the French, by whom they were abundantly ſupplied with arms and ammunition. Whenever a war happened, the Indians were ready to fall upon the frontiers; and this they frequently did, even when Great Britain and France were at peace. From theſe conſiderations,

ſiderations, it appeared to be the intereſt of Great Britain to gain the poſſeſſion of Canada. But the importance of ſuch an acquiſition was not well underſtood in England. Franklin about this time publiſhed his Canada pamphlet, in which he, in a very forcible manner, pointed out the advantages which would reſult from the conqueſt of this province.

An expedition againſt it was planned, and the command given to General Wolfe. His ſucceſs is well known. At the treaty in 1762, France ceded Canada to Great Britain, and by her ceſſion of Louiſiana, at the ſame time, relinquiſhed all her poſſeſſions on the continent of America.

Although Dr. Franklin was now principally occupied with political purſuits, he found time for philoſophical ſtudies. He extended his electrical reſearches, and made a variety of experiments, particularly on the tourmalin. The ſingular properties which this ſtone poſſeſſes of being electrified on one ſide poſitively, and on the other negatively, by heat alone, without friction, had been but lately obſerved.

Some experiments on the cold produced by evaporation, made by Dr. Cullen, had been communicated to Dr. Franklin by Profeſſor Simpſon of Glaſgow. Theſe he repeated, and found that, by the evaporation of ether in the exhauſted receiver of an air-pump, ſo great a degree of cold was produced in a ſummer's day, that water was converted into ice. This diſcovery he applied to the ſolution of a number of phenomena, particularly a ſingular fact, which philoſophers had endeavoured in vain to account for, viz. that the temperature of the human body, when in health, never exceeds 96 degrees of Farenheit's thermometer, although the atmoſphere which ſurrounds it may be heated to a much greater degree. This he attributed to the increaſed perſpiration, and conſequent evaporation, produced by the heat.

In a letter to Mr. Small of London, dated in May 1760, Dr. Franklin makes a number of obſervations, tending to ſhew that, in North America, north-eaſt ſtorms

ſtorms begin in the ſouth-weſt parts. It appears, from actual obſervation, that a north-eaſt ſtorm, which extended a conſiderable diſtance, commenced in Philadelphia nearly four hours before it was felt at Boſton. He endeavoured to account for this, by ſuppoſing that, from heat, ſome rarefaction takes place about the gulf of Mexico, that the air further north being cooler ruſhes in, and is ſucceeded by the cooler and denſer air ſtill further north, and that thus a continued current is at length produced.

The tone produced by rubbing the brim of a drinking glaſs with a wet finger had been generally known. A Mr. Puckeridge, an Iriſhman, by placing on a table a number of glaſs of different ſizes, and tuning them by partly filling them with water, endeavoured to form an inſtrument capable of playing tunes. He was prevented by an untimely end, from bringing his invention to any degree of perfection. After his death ſome improvements were made upon his plan. The ſweetneſs of the tones induced Dr. Franklin to make a variety of experiments; and he at length formed that elegant inſtrument which he has called the *Armonica*.

In the ſummer of 1762 he returned to America.—On his paſſage he obſerved the ſingular effect produced by the agitation of a veſſel, containing oil floating on water. The ſurface of the oil remains ſmooth and undiſturbed, whilſt the water is agitated with the utmoſt commotion. No ſatisfactory explanation of this appearance has, we believe, ever been given.

Dr. Franklin received the thanks of the aſſembly of Pennſylvania, "as well for the faithful diſcharge of his duty to that province in particular, as for the many and important ſervices done to America in general, during his reſidence in Great-Britain." A compenſation of 5000l. Pennſylvania currency, was alſo decreed him for his ſervices during ſix years.

During his abſence he had been annually elected member of the aſſembly. On his return to Pennſylvania

vania he again took his ſeat in this body, and continued a ſteady defender of the liberties of the people.

In December 1762, a circumſtance which cauſed great alarm in the province took place. A number of Indians had reſided in the county of Lancaſter, and conducted themſelves uniformly as friends to the white inhabitants. Repeated depredations on the frontiers had exaſperated the inhabitants to ſuch a degree, that they determined on revenge upon every Indian. A number of perſons, to the amount of 120, principally inhabitants of Donnegal and Peckſtang or Paxton townſhips, in the county of York, aſſembled; and, mounted on horſeback, proceeded to the ſettlement of theſe harmleſs and defenceleſs Indians, whoſe number had now reduced to about twenty. The Indians received intelligence of the attack which was intended againſt them, but diſbelieved it. Conſidering the white people as their friends, they apprehended no danger from them. When the party arrived at the Indian ſettlement, they found only ſome women and children, and a few old men, the reſt being abſent at work. They murdered all whom they found, and amongſt others the chief Shahaes, who had been always diſtinguiſhed for his friendſhip to the whites. This bloody deed excited much indignation in the well diſpoſed part of the community.

The remainder of theſe unfortunate Indians, who, by abſence, had eſcaped the maſſacre, were conducted to Lancaſter, and lodged in the gaol, as a place of ſecurity. The governor iſſued a proclamation, expreſſing the ſtrongeſt diſapprobation of the action, offering a reward for the diſcovery of the perpetrators of the deed, and prohibiting all injuries to the peaceable Indians in future. But, notwithſtanding this, a party of the ſame men ſhortly after marched to Lancaſter, broke open the gaol, and inhumanly butchered the innocent Indians who had been placed there for ſecurity. Another proclamation was iſſued, but had no effect. A detachment marched down to Philadelphia, for the expreſs purpoſe of murdering ſome friendly Indians

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who had been removed to the city for safety. A number of the citizens armed in their defence. The Quakers, whose principles are opposed to fighting, even in their own defence, were most active upon this occasion. The rioters came to Germantown. The governor fled for safety to the house of Dr. Franklin, who, with some others, advanced to meet the Paxton boys, as they were called, and had influence enough to prevail upon them to relinquish their undertaking, and return to their homes.

The disputes between the proprietaries and the assembly, which, for a time, had subsided, were again revived. The proprietaries were dissatisfied with the concessions made in favour of the people, and made great struggles to recover the privilege of exempting their estates from taxation, which they had been induced to give up.

In 1763 the assembly passed a militia bill, to which the governor refused to give his assent, unless the assembly would agree to certain amendments which he proposed. These consisted in increasing the fines, and, in some cases, substituting death for fines. He wished too that the officers should be appointed altogether, by himself, and not be nominated by the people, as the bill had proposed. These amendments the assembly considered as inconsistent with the spirit of liberty.—They would not adopt them; the governor was obstinate, and the bill was lost.

These, and various other circumstances, increased the uneasiness which subsisted between the proprietaries and the assembly to such a degree, that, in 1764, a petition to the king was agreed to by the house, praying an alteration from a *proprietary* to a *regal* government. Great opposition was made to this measure, not only in the house, but in the public prints. A speech of Mr. Dickenson, on the subject, was published, with a preface by Dr. Smith, in which great pains were taken to shew the impropriety and impolicy of this proceeding. A speech of Mr. Galloway, in reply to Mr. Dickenson, was published, accompanied with a preface

preface by Dr. Franklin; in which he ably oppoſed the principles laid down in the preface to Mr. Dickenſon's ſpeech. This application to the throne produced no effect. The proprietary government was ſtill continued.

At the election for a new aſſembly, in the fall of 1764, the friends of the proprietaries made great exertions to exclude thoſe of the adverſe party, and obtained a ſmall majority in the city of Philadelphia. Franklin now loſt his ſeat in the houſe, which he had held for fourteen years. On the meeting of the aſſembly, it appeared that there was ſtill a decided majority of Franklin's friends. He was immediately appointed provincial agent, to the great chagrin of his enemies, who made a ſolemn proteſt againſt his appointment; which was refuſed admiſſion upon the minutes, as being unprecedented. It was, however, publiſhed in the papers, and produced a ſpirited reply from him juſt before his departure for England.

The diſturbances produced in America by Mr. Grenville's ſtamp-act, and the oppoſition made to it, are well known. Under the marquis of Rockingham's adminiſtration, it appeared expedient to endeavour to calm the minds of the coloniſts; and the repeal of the odious tax was contemplated. Amongſt other means of collecting information on the diſpoſition of the people to ſubmit to it, Dr. Franklin was called to the bar of the houſe of commons. The examination which he here underwent was publiſhed, and contains a ſtriking proof of the extent and accuracy of his information, and the facility with which he communicated his ſentiments. He repreſented facts in ſo ſtrong a point of view, that the inexpediency of the act muſt have appeared clear to every unprejudiced mind. The act, after ſome oppoſition, was repealed, about a year after it was enacted, and before it had ever been carried into execution.

In the year 1766, he made a viſit to Holland and Germany, and received the greateſt marks of attention from men of ſcience. In his paſſage through Holland, he

he learned from the watermen the effect which a diminution of the quantity of water in canals has, in impeding the progress of boats. Upon his return to England, he was led to make a number of experiments; all of which tended to confirm the observation. These, with an explanation of the phenomenon, he communicated in a letter to his friend, Sir John Pringle, which is contained in the volume of his philosophical pieces.

In the following year he travelled into France, where he met with a no less favourable reception than he had experienced in Germany. He was introduced to a number of literary characters, and to the king Louis XV.

Several letters written by Hutchinson, Oliver, and others, to persons in eminent stations in Great Britain, came into the hands of Dr. Franklin.

These contained the most violent invectives against the leading characters of the state of Massachusetts, and strenuously advised the prosecution of vigorous measures, to compel the people to obedience to the measures of the ministry. These he transmitted to the legislature, by whom they were published. Attested copies of them were sent to Great Britain, with an address, praying the king to discharge from office persons who had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the people, and who had shewn themselves so unfriendly to their interests.

The publication of these letters produced a duel between Mr. Whately and Mr. Temple; each of whom was suspected of having been instrumental in procuring them. To prevent any further disputes on this subject, Dr. Franklin, in one of the public papers, declared that he had sent them to America, but would give no information concerning the manner in which he had obtained them; nor was this ever discovered.

Shortly after, the petition of the Massachusetts assembly was taken up for examination, before the privy council. Dr. Franklin attended, as agent for the assembly; and here a torrent of the most violent and unwarranted

warranted abuſe was poured upon him by the ſolicitor-general, Wedderburne, who was engaged as council for Oliver and Hutchinſon. The petition was declared to be ſcandalous and vexatious, and the prayer of it refuſed.

Although the parliament of Great-Britain had repealed the ſtamp-act, it was only upon the principle of expediency. They ſtill inſiſted upon their right to tax the colonies; and, at the ſame time that the ſtamp-act was repealed, an act was paſſed, declaring the right of parliament to bind the colonies in all caſes whatſoever. This language was uſed even by the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of the ſtamp-act; and, amongſt others, by Mr. Pitt. This right was never recognized by the coloniſts; but, as they flattered themſelves that it would not be exerciſed, they were not very active in remonſtrating againſt it. Had this pretended right been ſuffered to remain dormant, the coloniſts would cheerfully have furniſhed their quota of ſupplies, in the mode to which they had been accuſtomed: that is, by acts of their own aſſemblies, in conſequence of requiſitions from the ſecretary of ſtate. If this practice had been purſued, ſuch was the diſpoſition of the colonies towards the mother country, that, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages under which they laboured, from reſtraints upon their trade, calculated ſolely for the benefit of the commercial and manufacturing intereſts of Great Britain, a ſeparation of the two countries might have been a far diſtant event. The Americans, from their earlieſt infancy, were taught to venerate a people from whom they were deſcended; whoſe language, laws and manners were the ſame as their own. They looked up to them as models of perfection; and, in their prejudiced minds, the moſt enlightened nations of Europe were conſidered as almoſt barbarians, in compariſon with Engliſhmen. The name of an Engliſhman conveyed to an American the idea of every thing good and great. Such ſentiments inſtilled into them in early life, what but a repetition of unjuſt treatment could have induced them to entertain

tain the moſt diſtant thought of ſeparation! The duties on glaſs, paper, leather' painters' colours, tea, &c. the diſfranchiſement of ſome of the colonies; the obſtruction to the meaſures of the legiſlature, in others, by the king's governors; the contemptuous treatment of their humble remonſtrances, ſtating their grievances, and praying a redreſs of them, and other violent and oppreſſive meaſures, at length excited ardent ſpirit of oppoſition. Inſtead of endeavouring to allay this by a more lenient conduct, the miniſtry ſeemed reſolutely bent upon reducing the colonies to the moſt ſlaviſh obedience to their decrees. But this tended only to aggravate. Vain were all the efforts made uſe of to prevail upon them to lay aſide their deſigns, to convince them of the impoſſibility of carrying them into effect, and of the miſchievous conſequences which muſt enſue from a continuance of the attempt. They perſevered, with a degree of inflexibility ſcarcely paralleled.

The advantages which Great Britain derived from her colonies were ſo great, that nothing but a degree of infatuation, little ſhort of madneſs, could have produced a continuance of meaſures calculated to keep up a ſpirit of uneaſineſs, which might occaſion the ſlighteſt wiſh for a ſeparation. When we conſider the great improvements in the ſcience of government, the general diffuſion of the principles of liberty amongſt the people of Europe, the effects which theſe have already produced in France, and the probable conſequences which will reſult from them elſewhere, all of which are the offſpring of the American revolution, it cannot but appear ſtrange, that events of ſo great moment to the happineſs of mankind, ſhould have been ultimately occaſioned by the wickedneſs or ignorance of a Britiſh miniſtry.

Dr. Franklin left nothing untried to prevail upon the miniſtry to conſent to a change of meaſures. In private converſations, and in letters to perſons in government, he continually expatiated upon the impolicy and injuſtice of their conduct towards America; and and ſtated, that, notwithſtanding the attachment of the coloniſts

coloniſts to the mother country, a repetition of ill treatment muſt ultimately alienate their affections. They liſtened not to his advice. They blindly perſevered in their own ſchemes, and left to the coloniſts no alternative, but oppoſition or unconditional ſubmiſſion. The latter accorded not with the principles of freedom, which they had been taught to revere. To the former they were compelled though reluctantly, to have recourſe.

Dr. Franklin, finding all efforts to reſtore harmony between Great Britain and her colonies uſeleſs, returned to America in the year 1775; juſt after the commencement of hoſtilities. The day after his return he was elected by the legiſlature of Pennſylvania a member of congreſs. Not long after his election a committee was appointed, conſiſting of Mr. Lynch, Mr. Harriſon, and himſelf, to viſit the camp of Cambridge, and, in conjunction with the commander in chief, to endeavour to convince the troops whoſe term of inliſtment was about to expire, of the neceſſity of their continuing in the field, and perſevering in the cauſe of their country.

In the fall of the ſame year he viſited Canada, to endeavour to unite them in the common cauſe of liberty; but they could not be prevailed upon to oppoſe the meaſures of the Britiſh government. M. Le Roy, in a letter annexed to Abbe Fauchet's eulogium of Dr. Franklin, ſtates, that the ill ſucceſs of this negociation was occaſioned, in a great degree, by religious animoſities, which ſubſiſted between the Canadians and their neighbours; ſome of whom had at different times burnt their chapels.

When Lord Howe came to America, in 1776 veſted with power to treat with the coloniſts, a correſpondence took place between him and Dr. Franklin, on the ſubject of a reconciliation. Dr. Franklin was afterwards appointed, together with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, to wait upon the commiſſioners, in order to learn the extent of their power. Theſe were found to be only to grant pardons upon ſubmiſſion.

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Theſe were terms which would not be accepted; and the object of the commiſſioners could not be obtained.

The momentous queſtion of independence was ſhortly after brought into view; at a time when the fleets and armies, which were ſent to enforce obedience, were truly formidable. With an army, numerous indeed, but ignorant of diſcipline, and entirely unſkilled in the art of war, without money, without a fleet, without allies, and with nothing but the love of liberty to ſupport them, the coloniſts determined to ſeparate from a country from which they had experienced a repetition of injury and inſult. In this queſtion, Dr. Franklin was decidedly in favour of the meaſure propoſed, and had great influence in bringing over others to his ſentiments.

The public mind had been pretty fully prepared for this event, by Mr. Paine's celebrated pamphlet *Common Senſe*. There is good reaſon to believe that Dr. Franklin had no inconſiderable ſhare, at leaſt, in furniſhing materials for this work.

In the convention which aſſembled at Philadelphia in 1776, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a new form of government for the ſtate of Pennſylvania, Dr. Franklin was choſen preſident. The late conſtitution of this ſtate, which was the reſult of their deliberations, may be conſidered as a digeſt of his principles of government. The ſingle legiſlature, and the plural executive, ſeem to have been his favourite tenets.

In the latter end of 1776, Dr. Franklin was appointed to aſſiſt in the negociations which had been ſet on foot by Silas Deane at the court of France. A conviction of the advantages of a commercial intercourſe with America, and a deſire of weakening the Britiſh empire by diſmembering it, firſt induced the French court to liſten to propoſals of an alliance. But they ſhewed rather a reluctance to the meaſure, which, by Dr. Franklin's addreſs, and particularly by the ſucceſs of the American arms againſt general Burgoyne, was at length overcome; and in February 1778, a treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, was concluded;

cluded; in consequence of which France became involved in the war with Great-Britain.

Perhaps no person could have been found more capable of rendering essential services to the United States at the court of France, than Dr. Franklin. He was well known as a philosopher, and his character was held in the highest estimation. He was received with the greatest marks of respect by all the literary characters; and this respect was extended amongst all classes of man. His personal influence was hence very considerable. To the effects of this were added those of various performances which he published, tending to establish the credit and character of the United States. To his exertions in this way, may, in no small degree, be ascribed the success of the loans negociated in Holland and France, which greatly contributed to bringing the war to a happy conclusion.

The repeated ill success of their arms, and more particularly the capture of Cornwallis and his army, at length convinced the British nation of the impossibility of reducing the Americans to subjection. The trading interest particularly became very clamorous for peace. The ministry were unable longer to oppose their wishes. Provincial articles of peace were agreed to, and signed at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782, by Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, on the part of the United States; and by Mr. Oswald on the part of Great Britain. These formed the basis of the definitive treaty, which was concluded the 30th of September 1783, and signed by Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Jay, on the one part, and by Mr. David Hartley on the other.

On the 3d of April 1783, a treaty of amity and commerce, between the United States and Sweden, was concluded at Paris, by Dr. Franklin and the Count Von Krutz.

A similar treaty with Prussia was concluded in 1785, not long before Dr. Franklin's departure from Europe.

Dr.

Dr. Franklin did not ſuffer his political purſuits to engroſs his whole attention. Some of his performances made their appearance in Paris. The object of theſe was generally the promotion of induſtry and œconomy.

In the year 1784, when animal magnetiſm made great noiſe in the world, particularly at Paris, it was thought a matter of ſuch importance, that the king appointed commiſſioners to examine into the foundation of this pretended ſcience. Dr. Franklin was one of the number. After a fair and diligent examination, in the courſe of which Meſmer repeated a number of experiments, in the preſence of the commiſſioners, ſome of which were tried upon themſelves, they determined that it was a mere trick, intended to impoſe upon the ignorant and credulous—Meſmer was thus interrupted in his career to wealth and fame, and a moſt inſolent attempt to impoſe upon the human underſtanding baffled.

The important ends of Dr. Franklin's miſſion being completed by the eſtabliſhment of American independence, and infirmities of age and diſeaſe coming upon him, he became deſirous of returning to his native country. Upon application to congreſs to be recalled, Mr. Jefferſon was appointed to ſucceed him, in 1783. Sometime in September of the ſame year, Dr. Franklin arrived in Philadelphia. He was ſhortly after choſen member of the ſupreme executive council for the city; and ſoon after was elected preſident of the ſame.

When a convention was called to meet in Philadelphia, in 1787, for the purpoſe of giving more energy to the government of the union, by reviſing and amending the articles of confederation, Dr. Franklin was appointed a delegate from the State of Pennſylvania. He ſigned the conſtitution which they propoſed for the union, and gave it the moſt unequivocal marks of his approbation.

A ſociety for political enquiries, of which Dr. Franklin was preſident, was eſtabliſhed about this period.—

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The meetings were held at his houſe. Two or three eſſays read in the ſociety were publiſhed. It did not long continue.

In the year 1787, two ſocieties were eſtabliſhed in Philadelphia, founded on principles of the moſt liberal and refined humanity—the *Philadelphia Society for alleviating the miſeries of public priſons;* and the *Pennſylvania Society for promoting the abolition of ſlavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African race.* Of each of theſe Dr. Franklin was preſident. The labours of theſe bodies have been crowned with great ſucceſs; and they continue to proſecute, with unwearied diligence, the laudable deſigns for which they were inſtituted.

Dr. Franklin's increaſing infirmities prevented his regular attendance in the council-chamber; and, in 1788, he retired wholly from public life.

His conſtitution had been a remarkable good one. He had been little ſubject to diſeaſe, except an attack of the gout occaſionally, until the year 1781, when he was firſt attacked with the ſymptoms of the calculous complaint, which continued during his life. During the intervals of pain from this grievous diſeaſe, he ſpent many cheerful hours, converſing in the moſt agreeable and inſtructive manner. His faculties were entirely unimpaired, even to the hour of his death.

His name, as preſident of the Abolition Society, was ſigned to the memorial preſented to the Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States, on the 12th of February 1789, praying them to exert the full extent of power veſted in them by the conſtitution, in diſcouraging the traffic of the human ſpecies. This was his laſt public act. In the debates to which this memorial gave riſe, ſeveral attempts were made to juſtify the trade. In the Federal Gazette of March 25th there appeared an eſſay, ſigned Hiſtoricus, written by Dr. Franklin, in which he communicated a ſpeech, ſaid to have been delivered in the Divan of Algiers in 1687, in oppoſition to the prayer of the petition of a

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ſect called *Erika*, or puriſts, for the abolition of piracy and ſlavery. This pretended African ſpeech was an excellent parody of one delivered by Mr. Jackſon of Georgia. All the arguments urged in favour of negro ſlavery, are applied with equal force, to juſtify the plundering and enſlaving the Europeans. It affords, at the ſame time, a demonſtration of the utility of the arguments in defence of the ſlave trade, and of the ſtrength of mind and ingenuity of the author, at his advanced period of life. It furniſhed too a no leſs convincing proof of his power of imitating the ſtyle of other times and nations, than his celebrated parable againſt perſecution. And as the latter led many to ſearch the Scriptures with a view to find it, ſo the former cauſed many perſons to ſearch the book-ſtores and libraries, for the work from which it was ſaid to be extracted.*

In the beginning of April following, he was attacked with a fever and complaint of his breaſt, which terminated his exiſtence. The following account of his laſt illneſs was written by his friend and phyſician Dr. Jones.

"The ſtone, with which he had been afflicted for ſeveral years, had for the laſt twelve months confined him chiefly to his bed; and during the extreme painful paroxyſms, he was obliged to take large doſes of laudanum to mitigate his tortures—ſtill, in the intervals of pain, he not only amuſed himſelf with reading and converſing with his family, and a few friends who viſited him, but was often employed in doing buſineſs of a public as well as private nature, with various perſons who waited on him for that purpoſe; and in every inſtance diſplayed, not only that readineſs and diſpoſition of doing good, which was the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of his life, but the fulleſt and cleareſt poſſeſſion of his uncommon mental abilities; and not unfrequently indulged himſelf in thoſe *jeux d' esprit* and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him. "About

* *This ſpeech will be found in the volume of Eſſays.*

"About sixteen days before his death, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the third or fourth day when he complained of a pain in his left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, attended with a cough and laborious breathing. During this state, when the severity of his pains sometimes drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe—that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought—acknowledged his grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from that Supreme Being, who had raised him from small and low beginnings to such high rank and consideration among men—and made to doubt but his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world, in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing intirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery, when an imposthumation, which had formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had sufficient strength to do it; but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed—a calm lethargic state succeeded——and on the 17th of April, 1790, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of eighty-four years and three months.

"It may not be amiss to add to the above account, that Dr. Franklin, in the year 1735, had a severe pleurisy, which terminated in an abscess of the left lobe of his lungs, and he was then almost suffocated with the quantity and suddenness of the discharge. A second attack of similar nature happened some years after this, from which he soon recovered, and did not appear to suffer any inconvenience in his respiration from these diseases."

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The following epitaph on himself, was written by him many years previous to his death;

THE BODY
of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer,
(Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out
And ſtript of its lettering and gilding)
Lies here food for worms;
Yet the work itſelf ſhall not be loſt,
For it will (as he believed) appear once more,
In a new
And more beautiful edition,
Corrected and amended
by
The Author.

EXTRACTS from the Last Will and Teſtament of DR. FRANKLIN.

WITH regard to my books, thoſe I had in France, and thoſe I left in Philadelphia, being now aſſembled together here, and a catalogue made of them, it is my intention to diſpoſe of the ſame as follows:

My hiſtory of the academy of Sciences, in ſixty or ſeventy volumes quarto, I give to the philoſophical ſociety of Philadelphia, of which I have the honour to be preſident. My collection in folio of *Les Arts & Les Metiers*, I give to the philoſophical ſociety, eſtabliſhed in New-England, of which I am a member.—My quarto edition of the ſame *Arts and Metiers*, I give

give to the library company of Philadelphia. Such and ſo many of my books as I ſhall mark, in the ſaid catalogue, with the name of my grandſon, Benjamin Franklin Bache, I do hereby give to him: and ſuch and ſo many of my books, as I ſhall mark in the ſaid catalogue with the name of my grandſon, William Bache, I do hereby give to him: and ſuch as ſhall be marked with the name of Jonathan Williams, I hereby give to my couſin of that name. The reſidue and remainder of all my books, manuſcripts and papers, I do give to my grandſon William Temple Franklin.—My ſhare in the library company of Philadelphia, I give to my grandſon, Benjamin Franklin Bache, confiding that he will permit his Brothers and Siſters to ſhare in the uſe of it.

I was born in Boſton, New-England, and owe my firſt inſtructions in literature to the free grammar-ſchools eſtabliſhed there. I therefore give one hundred pounds ſterling to my executors, to be by them, the ſurvivors or ſurvivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free ſchools in my native town of Boſton, to be by them, or the perſon or perſons who ſhall have the ſuperintendance and management of the ſaid ſchools, put out to intereſt, and ſo continued at intereſt for ever; which intereſt annually ſhall be laid out in ſilver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the ſaid free ſchools, for the encouragement of ſcholarſhip in the ſaid ſchools, belonging to the ſaid town, in ſuch manner as to the diſcretion of the ſelect men of the ſaid town ſhall ſeem meet.

Out of the ſalary that may remain due to me, as preſident of the ſtate, I give the ſum of two thouſand pounds to my executors, to be by them, the ſurvivors or ſurvivor of them, paid over to ſuch perſon or perſons as the legiſlature of this ſtate, by an act of aſſembly, ſhall appoint to receive the ſame, in truſt, to be employed for making the Schuylkill navigable.

During the number of years I was in buſineſs as a ſtationer, printer, and poſtmaſter, a great many ſmall

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ſums became due to me, for books, advertiſements, poſtage of letters, and other matters, which were not collected, when, in 1757, I was ſent by the aſſembly to England as their agent—and, by ſubſequent appointments continued there till 1775—when, on my return, I was immediately engaged in the affairs of congreſs, and ſent to France in 1776, where I remained nine years, not returning till 1785; and the ſaid debts not being demanded in ſuch a length of time, are become in a manner obſolete, yet are nevertheleſs juſtly due.—Theſe as they are ſtated in my great folio ledger, E. I bequeath to the contributors of the Pennſylvania hoſpital; hoping that theſe debtors, and the deſcendants of ſuch as are deceaſed, who now, as I find, make ſome difficulty of ſatisfying ſuch antiquated demands as juſt debts, may however be induced to pay or give them as charity to that excellent inſtitution. I am ſenſible that much muſt inevitably be loſt; but I hope ſomething conſiderable may be recovered. It is poſſible too that ſome of the parties charged may have exiſting old unſettled accounts againſt me; in which caſe the managers of the ſaid hoſpital will allow and deduct the amount, and pay the balance, if they find it againſt me.

I requeſt my friends Henry Hill, Eſq. John Jay, Eſq. Francis Hopkinſon, Eſq. and Mr. Edward Duffield, of Bonfield, in Philadelphia county, to be the executors of this my laſt will and teſtament, and I hereby nominate and appoint them for that purpoſe.

I would have my body buried with as little expence or ceremony as may be.

Philadelphia, July 17, 1788.

CODICIL.

CODICIL.

I Benjamin Franklin, in the foregoing or annexed laſt will and teſtament, having further conſidered the ſame, do think proper to make and publiſh the following codicil, or addition thereto:

IF having long been a fixed political opinion of mine, that in a democratical ſtate there ought to be no offices of profit, for the reaſons I had given in an article of my drawing in our conſtitution, it was my intention, when I accepted the office of preſident, to devote the appointed ſalary to ſome public uſe: Accordingly I had already, before I made my laſt will, in July laſt, given large ſums of it to colleges, ſchools, building of churches, &c. and in that will I bequeathed two thouſand pounds more to the ſtate, for the purpoſe of making the Schuylkill navigable; but underſtanding ſince, that ſuch a ſum will do but little towards accompliſhing ſuch a work, and that the project is not likely to be undertaken for many years to come—and having entertained another idea, which I hope may be found more extenſively uſeful, I do hereby revoke and annul the bequeſt and direct that the certificates I have for what remains due to me of that ſalary, be ſold towards raiſing the ſum of two thouſand pounds ſterling, to be diſpoſed of as I am now about to order.

It has been an opinion, that he who receives an eſtate from his anceſtors, is under ſome obligation to tranſmit the ſame to poſterity. This obligation lies not on me, who never inherited a ſhilling from any anceſtor or relation. I ſhall, however, if it is not diminiſhed by ſome accident before my death, leave a conſiderable eſtate among my deſcendants and relations. The above obſervation is made merely as ſome apology to my family, for by making bequeſts that do not appear to have any immediate relation to their advantage.

I was

I was born in Boſton, New-England, and owe my firſt inſtructoins in literature to the free grammar-ſchools eſtabliſhed there. I have therefore conſidered thoſe ſchools in my will.

But I am under obligations to the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, for having, unaſked, appointed me formerly their agent, with a handſome ſalary, which continued ſome years: and although I accidentally loſt in their ſervice, by tranſmitting governor Hutchinſon's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the leaſt to diminiſh my gratitude. I have conſidered that, among artiſans, good apprentices are moſt likely to make good citizens; and having myſelf been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards aſſiſted to ſet up my buſineſs in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be aſcribed to me—I wiſh to be uſeful even after my death, if poſſible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be ſerviceable to their country in both theſe towns.

To this end I devote two thouſand pounds ſterling, which I give, one thouſand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boſton, in Maſſachuſetts, and the other thouſand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in truſt, to and for the uſes, intents, and purpoſes, herein after mentioned and declared.

The ſaid ſum of one thouſand pounds ſterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boſton, ſhall be managed under the direction of the ſelect-men, united with the miniſters of the oldeſt epiſcopalian, congregational, and preſbyterian churches, in that town, who are to let out the ſame upon intereſt at five per cent. per annum, to ſuch young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have ſerved an apprenticeſhip in the ſaid town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, ſo as to obtain a good moral character, from at leaſt two reſpectable citizens, who are willing to become ſureties in a bond, with

with the applicants, for the repayment of the money ſo lent, with intereſt, according to the terms herein after preſcribed; all which bonds are to be taken for Spaniſh milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin; and the managers ſhall keep a bound book, or books, wherein ſhall be entered the names of thoſe who ſhall apply for, and receive the benefit of this inſtitution, and of their ſureties, together with the ſums lent, the dates, and other neceſſary and proper records reſpecting the buſineſs and concerns of this inſtitution: and as theſe loans are intended to aſſiſt young married artificers in ſetting up their buſineſs, they are to be proportioned by the diſcretion of the managers, ſo as not to exceed ſixty pounds ſterling to one perſon, nor to be leſs than fifteen pounds.

And if the number of appliers ſo entitled ſhould be ſo large as that the ſum will not ſuffer to afford to each as much as might otherwiſe not be improper, the proportion to each ſhall be diminiſhed, ſo as to afford to every one ſome aſſiſtance. Theſe aids may therefore be ſmall at firſt, but as the capital increaſes by the accumulated intereſt, they will be more ample. And in order to ſerve as many as poſſible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more eaſy, each borrower ſhall be obliged to pay with the yearly intereſt one tenth part of the principal; which ſums principal and intereſt ſo paid in, ſhall be again let out to freſh borrowers. And it is preſumed, that there will be always found in Boſton virtuous and benevolent citizens, willing to beſtow a part of their time in doing good to the riſing generation, by ſuperintending and managing this inſtitution gratis; it is hoped that no part of the money will at any time lie dead, or be diverted to other purpoſes, but be continually augmented by the intereſt, in which caſe there may in time be more than the occaſion in Boſton ſhall require; and then ſome may be ſpared to the neighbouring or other towns in the ſaid ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, which may deſire to have it, ſuch towns engaging to pay punctually the intereſt, and ſuch proportions of

of the principal annually to the inhabitants of the town of Boſton, if this plan is executed, and ſucceeds, as projected, without interruption, for one hundred years, the ſum will be then one hundred and thirty-one thouſand pounds; of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boſton then lay out, at their diſcretion, one hundred thouſand pounds in public works, which may be judged of moſt general utility to the inhabitants; ſuch as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to ſtrangers reſorting thither for health, or a temporary reſidence. The remaining thirty-one thouſand pounds I would have continued to be let out to intereſt, in the manner above directed, for one hundred years; as I hope it will have been found that the inſtitution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of ſervice to many worthy characters and uſeful citizens. At the end of this ſecond term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the ſum will be four millions and ſixty-one thouſand pounds ſterling; of which I leave one million and ſixty-one thouſand pounds to the diſpoſition and management of the inhabitants of the town of Boſton, and the three millions to the diſpoſition of the government of the ſtate; not preſuming to carry my views any farther.

All the directions herein given reſpecting the diſpoſition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boſton, I would have obſerved reſpecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia; only, as Philadelphia is incorporated, I requeſt the corporation of that city to undertake the management, agreeable to the ſaid directions: and I do hereby veſt them with full and ample powers for that purpoſe. And having conſidered that the covering its ground-plat with buildings and pavements, which carry off moſt rain, and prevent its ſoaking into the earth, and renewing and purifying the ſprings, whence the water of the wells muſt gradually grow worſe, and in time be unfit for uſe,

uſe, as I find has happened in all old cities; I recommend, that, at the end of the firſt hundred years, if not done before, the corporation of the city employ a part of the hundred thouſand pounds in bringing by pipes the water of Wiſſahickon-creek into the town, ſo as to ſupply the inhabitants, which I apprehend may be done without great difficulty, the level of that creek being much above that of the city, and may be made higher by a dam. I alſo recommend making the Schuylkill completely navigable. At the end of the ſecond hundred years, I would have the diſpoſition of the four millions and ſixty-one thouſand pounds divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the government of Pennſylvania, in the ſame manner as herein directed with reſpect to that of the inhabitants of Boſton and the government of Maſſachuſetts. It is my deſire that this inſtitution ſhould take place, and begin to operate within one year after my deceaſe; for which purpoſe due notice ſhould be publicly given, previous to the expiration of that year, that for thoſe whoſe benefit this eſtabliſhment is intended may make their reſpective applications; and I hereby direct my executors, the ſurvivors and ſurvivor of them, within ſix months after my deceaſe, to pay over the ſaid ſum of two thouſand pounds ſterling to ſuch perſons as ſhall be duly appointed by the ſelect men of Boſton, and the corporation of Philadelphia, to receive and take charge of their reſpective ſums of one thouſand pounds each for the purpoſes aforeſaid. Conſidering the accidents to which all human affairs and projects are ſubject in ſuch a length of time, I have perhaps too much flattered myſelf with a vain fancy, that theſe diſpoſitions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption, and have the effects propoſed; I hope however, that, if the inhabitants of the two cities ſhould not think fit to undertake the execution, they will at leaſt accept the offer of theſe donations, as a mark of my good will, token of my gratitude, and teſtimony of my deſire to be uſeful to them even after me departure. I wiſh, indeed, that they

they may both undertake to endeavour the execution of my project, because I think, that, though unforeseen difficulties may arise, expedients will be found to remove them, and the scheme be found practicable. If one of them accepts the money with the conditions, and the other refuses, my will then is, that both sums be given to the inhabitants of the city accepting; the whole to be applied to the same purposes, and under the same regulations directed for the separate parts; and if both refuse, the money remains of course in the mass of my estate, and it is to be disposed of therewith, according to my will made the seventeenth day of July 1788.

My fine crab-tree walking-stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of Liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, General Washington. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it, and would become it.

EULOGIUM

ON

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, L. L. D. &c.

DELIVERED IN THE ROTUNDA,

on the 21st of July, 1790,

IN THE NAME OF THE COMMONS OF PARIS;

In presence of the Deputies to the Legislative Assembly, and of all the Departments in the Kingdom, the Mayor, the Commandant General of the National Guards, the Representatives of the Commons, the Presidents of the Districts, and the Electors of the Capital.

BY THE ABBE FAUCHET,

NOW CONSTITUTIONAL BISHOP OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CALVADOS, AND A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THE Repreſentatives of the Commons of Paris paſſed a vote on the twenty-ſecond of July, 1790, in conſequence of which it was ordered, that this Eulogium ſhould be printed, and preſented to the National Aſſembly of France, and the Congreſs of America.

EULOGIUM

ON

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN;

Pronounced by the Abbe FAUCHET, *in the Name of the Commons of Paris.*

A SECOND creation has taken place; the elements of ſociety begin to combine together; the moral univerſe is now ſeen iſſuing from chaos; the genius of Liberty is awakened, and ſprings up; ſhe ſheds her divine light and creative powers upon the two hemiſpheres: A great nation, aſtoniſhed at ſeeing herſelf free, ſtretches her arms from one extremity of the earth to the other, and embraces the firſt nation that became ſo: The foundations of a new city are created in the two worlds; brother nations haſten to inhabit it; it is the city of mankind!

One of the firſt founders of this univerſal city was the immortal Franklin, the deliverer of America.

The ſecond founders, who accelerated this great work, made it worthy of Europe—The legiſlators of France have rendered the moſt ſolemn homage to his memory. They have ſaid—"A friend of humanity "is dead; mankind ought to be overwhelmed with "ſorrow! Nations have hitherto only worn mourn-"ing for Kings; let us aſſume it for a Man, and let "the tears of Frenchmen mingle with thoſe of Ame-"ricans,

" ricans, in order to do honour to the memory of one " of the Fathers of Liberty !"

The city of Paris, which once contained this philoſopher within its walls, which was intoxicated with the pleaſure of hearing, admiring, and loving him; of gathering from his lips the maxims of moral legiſlation, and of imbibing from the effuſions of his heart a paſſion for the public welfare, rivals Boſton and Philadelphia, his two native cities (for in one he was born as it were a man, and in the other a legiſlator,) in its profound attachment to his merit and his glory.

It has commanded this funeral ſolemnity, in order to perpetuate the gratitude and the grief of this third country, which, by the courage and activity with which it has profited of his leſſons, has ſhewn itſelf worthy of having him at once for an inſtructor and a model.

In ſelecting me for the interpreter of its wiſhes, it has declared, that it is leſs to the talents of an orator, than the patriotiſm of a citizen, the zeal of a preacher of liberty, and the ſenſibility of a friend of men, that it hath confided this ſolemn function. In this point of view, I may ſpeak with a holy confidence; for I have the public opinion, and the teſtimony of my own conſcience, to ſecond my wiſhes. Since nothing elſe is wanting than freedom, and ſenſibility, for that ſpecies of eloquence which this eulogium requires, I am ſatisfied; for I already poſſeſs them.

My voice ſhall extend to France, to America, to poſterity; I am now to do juſtice to a great man, the founder of tranſ-Atlantic freedom; I am to praiſe him in the name of the mother-city of French liberty; I myſelf alſo am a man; I am a freeman; I poſſeſs the ſuffrages of my fellow-citizens: This is enough; my diſcourſe ſhall be immortal!

PART

PART I.

THE academies, the philoſophical ſocieties, the learned aſſociations which have done themſelves honour by inſcribing the name of Franklin in their records, can beſt appreciate the debt due to his genius, for having extended the power of man over nature, and preſented new and ſublime ideas, in a ſtyle ſimple as truth, and pure as light.

It is not the naturaliſt and the philoſopher that the orator of the commons of Paris ought to deſcribe; it is the *man*, who hath accelerated the progreſs of ſocial order; it the *legislator*, who hath prepared the liberty of nations!

Benjamin Franklin was born at the commencement of the preſent century, in Boſton, the capital of New-England.

His father, perſecuted in his own country on account of his religious opinions (for the Engliſh, ſo wavering in regard to religion, and who have ſo often changed it by *act of Parliament*, at the nod of corrupt Kings, or fanatical chiefs, have always been, and are at this very day, perſecutors;) his father, I ſay, took refuge in the new world, where the church of England, not having as yet intruded her intolerant ſolicitude, permitted the liberty of conſcience.

His profeſſion was obſcure; but it is from this very obſcurity that it is glorious for him to have elevated himſelf to the head of his nation, and to become the chief, as it were, of mankind.

He who was deſtined to be the founder and the preſident of the Philoſophical Society of Philadelphia, the creator and the ſoul of the Congreſs of America, was at firſt brought up to the trade of a tallow-chandler. The celebrated orator Flechier began life among ourſelves preciſely in the ſame manner: It may be conſidered as a prodigy that, under the feudal ariſtocracy, he ſhould have ever become a rich Biſtop! The hereditary Nobles, the titled families (it is but yeſterday,

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as it were they have ceased to exist in France,) regarding his elevation with a degree of surprise, mingled with scorn, were unable to conceive how a Minister dared to confer a Bishopric upon a plebeian.—"Duke," replied the Bishop of Nismes to one of his contemporaries, who reproached him with the occupation of his father, "this is in truth what distinguishes us from "each other: If you had been born in the same station that I was, you would have still remained a maker "of candles!"

Gentlemen, I have mentioned this anecdote, because it is something in the manner of Franklin. He might have said the same thing to the English Nobility, and all those insulters of merit, who think themselves dispensed from possessing any, because, in virtue of their family, they occupy the first employments in the state, and obtain, even through the folly of their titles, all the honours of society.

A very limited business, and one which presented no opportunity for the developement of the human faculties, could not be deemed worthy of the genius of Franklin. The art of printing had been scarce established in America; he turned his views towards this polite art, to which the destiny of the human genius is attached.

He laboured assiduously in this profession, first at Boston, afterwards at Philadelphia, and at length at London, where, while he acquired a considerable degree of perfection in this art, his mind, always of a thinking turn, made a variety of observations on the vices of the English government, and accumulated in silence the means of making typography more useful to his country, and to human kind.

On his return to the capital of Pennsylvania, he was able to work at, direct, and even to supply matter for those presses, whence were to issue that knowledge destined to be the harbinger of the glorious day of liberty.

English America was designed, in the eternal views of Providence, and in the combinations already ripe

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in the mind of Franklin, to see the sun of justice first elevated above its horizon, a sun who was progressively to spread his rays over all parts of the world. Its colonies were formed of men, who did not find themselves sufficiently free in England; who would not depend, in regard to religion, but upon Heaven, and their own conscience; in their morals, but upon civil equality and good laws; in their happiness, but upon domestic society and the simplicity of virtue.

Penn, the first man who arose out of that social chaos in which the nations had been plunged, founded Philadelphia, the City of Brethren; and which, in consequence of this title, which it hath ever since so amply justified, merits the appellation of the *capital of the human kind*. It is opened to human nature, without restriction; for the law which prohibits the entrance of the atheist and the sluggard, as not being men, does not present, as Franklin himself has very justly observed, any more than the threatening exception, which cannot possibly be carried into execution.

"If," says he, "an atheist existed in any other part "of the universe, he would be instantly converted on "entering into a city where every thing is so admira-"bly conducted; and if there was a sluggard, having "the three amiable sisters, Riches, Science and Virtue, "who are the daughters of Labour, continually before "his eyes, he would soon conceive an affection for "them, and endeavour to obtain them from their fa-"ther."

Delightful idea! worthy of a sage philosopher, the object of our present homage! It, at one and the same time, describes both Franklin and Philadelphia.

As a Catholic priest, I shall doubtless be reproached for delivering an eulogium on the Quakers, as I have heretofore been reproached for praising the Jansenists; as I am reproached at this very moment for pronouncing a funeral oration on a Protestant, who himself professed religious principles different from those that were spread over the face of his country.

These

These reproaches do me honour, for they issue from fanaticism, the greatest scourge of society. Yes, I have praised, and I now praise again in the name of the commons of Paris, both with eagerness and affection, that philanthropic Jansenist, if they please, but, at the same time, very Catholic and very holy preceptor of those who are born deaf and dumb; the virtuous Philadelphians, simple and sublime observers of universal fraternity; the principal philosopher of Protestantism, the sage Franklin, who, without being perfect in his faith, yet possessed the perfection of evangelical benevolence.

And here, Gentlemen, since the question of universal toleration presents itself, and enters of its own accord into the chain of ideas, which are successively to complete the character of the great moralist whom I now attempt to describe, permit me to stop. After developing the principles of this sage, I shall pursue my subject, and fulfil the task you have imposed upon me.

Men cannot be brethren, and consequently cannot be social creatures, while one part reprove the other for the opinions which they have formed, and think themselves, on account of this imaginary difference, to be separated and divided from each other, as far as heaven is distant from hell.

No one can judge the conscience but God alone.

He who affirms that man ought to believe, or not believe, this or that doctrine, often renders himself guilty of injustice, and always of temerity.

The first genius of the universe, although inflamed with the most ardent love for truth, might embrace a religious error, and think himself bound by his conscience to defend it. Who is the audacious mortal, that pretends to have been able to calculate all the lights and shades which might have intervened between the most simple or the most sublime minds, and who dares to say—"all ought to believe like me?"

These are invincible prejudices to an uniformity of faith: The effects of education, the ideas instilled into the human mind, during infancy and youth, those religious

ligious deſcriptions which inſpire the imagination with awful terrors, the cuſtomary practice of adoration, the ſanction of ſelf-love in behalf of received dogmas, a thouſand acts of virtue practiſed by ſincere believers in a particular faith; all theſe may inevitably detain the moſt righteous and juſt men in the religion of their fathers, although it may be mingled with error.

The ſage himſelf, who by means of the activity of his mind, and the force of his reflections, raiſes himſelf, while he implores the Divine aſſiſtance, above vulgar ideas and popular ſuperſtitions, only floats in the immenſity of eternal conceptions, and re-deſcends, with a holy fear, to the elements of his primitive faith; he does nothing more than ſeparate it from that impure mixture, by which fanaticiſm, in his eyes, has evidently altered its venerable ſimplicity. Undoubtedly, the indolence that precludes reflection, the animal paſſions, the abuſe of our faculties, may retain, or draw us, in reſpect to religion, into thoſe errors which are imputable to us. But it appertains to us, and to Him only, who reads the heart, and probes the thoughts, to mark them down for reprobation, and to puniſh them at the day of Judgment.

Thoſe actions alone, which are manifeſtly contrary to the laws of univerſal morality, are ſubmitted to the inſpection of men, and the ſentence of ſociety. The vicious, the baſe, the wicked, even when they profeſs the true faith, are the enemies of humanity. The virtuous, the good, the benevolent, even while their faith is erroneous, are the friends and the benefactors of mankind.

Such, Gentlemen, were the doctrines of the ſage, whoſe memory we are now doing honour to; and, if this were the place, it would be eaſy to prove, as he himſelf has demonſtrated, that the true ſpirit of the goſpel conſiſts in indulgence, charity, brotherly love, concord, peace, and univerſal unity.

Notwithſtanding this, "out of the pale of Catho-"lic faith," ſays one, "there is no ſalvation for man-"kind!"

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This maxim is true, Gentlemen; but thoſe who deduce from it the reprobation of all thoſe who are of a different religion, and a frightful intolerance towards nearly the whole human race, are fanatics and impoſtors.

It is one of the avowed principles of the Catholic faith, that all thoſe who ſtrictly obſerve the natural law, that is to ſay, all virtuous men, appertain to the true church, and have Jeſus Chriſt, the light of ſouls, for their maſter and inſpector.

I pronounce this ſacred name with ſo much more ſatisfaction in this diſcourſe, as Franklin was accuſtomed to invoke it with the moſt reſpectful awe. But thoſe who do not know, and who "practiſe naturally," as the Apoſtle ſays his divine law, ſhall be judged after the teſtimony of their own conſciences, and arrive, by means of the miracles wrought through his grace, at the true light. Thus according to the principles of our religion, no one can pronounce upon the reprobation of a ſingle man, becauſe all men are in the hands of a Father who can, and who wiſhes to, ſave all; he has expreſsly told us ſo; and, although his juſtice may proſcribe incorrigible ſinners, he has left to himſelf the final determination of their doom, that ſo our hearts may not be tortured in regard to any of our brethren, who purſue along with us the paſſage to eternity. A doctrine truly Catholic, which places all men in the communion of our love, and points out to us the ſages of all the countries in the world who have done honour to their lives by a ſeries of uſeful virtues, and thus become the friends of God, and the adopted children of the univerſal church.

This religion of virtue, by which we are inſtructed to love God and man, and which, according to the ſacred Scriptures, is the only one pure and ſpotleſs, was viſible in the heart of Franklin, and in all his works.

He preached it in the inſtructions, which he compoſed, and which he printed at Philadelphia. He adorned them by means of a ſimplicity, a plainneſs, and, at the ſame time, an intelligence, a ſenſibility,

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and a happy air of calmneſs and tranquility, which affected every boſom. He excelled in thoſe religious parables, of which the Scriptures furniſh ſo many amiable and ſublime examples.

Permit me, Gentlemen, to quote one compoſed by him againſt intolerance and perſecution. In it he deſcribes, in the ſame ſtyle in which Geneſis is written, the Patriarch Abraham exerciſing hoſpitality towards an old man, who refuſes to join him in thankſgiving to the Almighty God, the Creator of heaven and earth.

The ſtranger tells him, that he will not adore any one but the God of his own country, and that he will on no account participate in any other worſhip. On this, the zeal of Abraham is kindled, he puſhes the man out of his tent, in the dead of night, and chaſes him into the deſert. In a ſhort time, the voice of the Almighty is heard: "Abraham, where is the ſtranger?" On this, Abraham replies—"Lord he refuſed to adore thee, "and I chaſed the infidel away!" And God ſaid —"for one hundred four ſcore and eighteen years "I have bore with this unbeliever; I have nouriſhed "and clothed him all this time, notwithſtanding his "rebellion againſt me, and yet thou, who art thyſelf a "ſinner, could not bear with him for one night!"

On this, Abraham cried out—"I have ſinned, O Lord! let not thy anger fall upon me!" And he aroſe and ran to the deſert; he ſought the old man; he found him; he brought him to his tent; he treated him with kindneſs, and ſent him away next morning with many preſents.

How much does this, Gentlemen, reſemble the ſtyle of the holy Scriptures! every perſon participates in the inſpiration with which it is written; we are tempted to ſearch the book of Geneſis, and wiſh to believe that we ſhall find it there! Another allegory, compoſed by Franklin, and borrowed from the art which he exerciſed, offers a convincing teſtimoney of his belief in the immortality of the ſoul, the purification of it in another life, and the reſurrection of the body; I allude

lude to his epitaph, written by himself.* How admirable, how short, and yet how full of sentiment, are the expressions contained in every line; evangelic faith and religious hope are here evident, and they forcibly point out the end of life, and the prize of virtue.

It was thus that Franklin, in his periodical works, which had prodigious circulation on the Continent of America, laid the sacred foundations of social morality. He was no less inimitable in the developement of the same morality, when applied to the duties of friendship, general charity, the employment of one's time, the happiness attendant upon good works, the necessary combination of private with public welfare, the propriety and necessity of industry, and to that happy and blissful state which puts us at ease with society and with ourselves. The "Proverbs of Old Henry," and "Poor Richard," are in the hands both of the learned and the ignorant; they contain the most sublime morality, reduced to popular language and common comprehension, and form the catechism of happiness for all mankind.

Franklin was too great a moralist, and too well acquainted with human affairs, not to perceive that women were the arbiters of manners. He strove to perfect their empire, and accordingly engaged them to adorn the sceptre of virtue with their graces. It is in their power to excite courage, to overthrow vice by means of their disdain, to kindle civism, and to light up in every heart the holy love of our country.

His daughter, who was opulent, and honoured with the public esteem, helped to manufacture and to make up the clothing for the army with her own hands, and spread abroad a noble emulation among the female citizens, who became eager to assist those by means of the needle and the spindle, who were serving the state with their swords and their guns.

With

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* *See page* 138.

With the charm ever attendant upon true wisdom and the grace ever flowing from true sentiment, this grave philosopher knew how to converse with the other sex, to inspire them with a taste for domestic occupations, to hold out to them the prize attendant upon honour unaccompanied by reproach, and instill the duty of cultivating the first precepts of education, in order to teach them to their children, and thus to acquit the debt due to nature, and fulfil the hope of society! It must be acknowledged that, in his own country, he addressed himself to minds capable of comprehending him.

Immortal females of America! I will tell it to the daughters of France, and they only are fit to applaud you! You have attained the utmost of what your sex is capable; you possess the beauty, the simplicity, the manners, at once natural and pure—the primitive graces of the golden age. It was among you that liberty was first to have its origin. But the empire of freedom, which is extended to France, is about to carry your manners along with it, and produce a revolution in morals as well as in politics.

Already our female citizens, for they have lately become such, are not any longer occupied with those frivolous ornaments, and vain pleasures, which were nothing more than the amusements of slavery; they have awakened the love of liberty in the bosoms of fathers of brothers, and of husbands; they have encouraged them to make the most generous sacrifices; their delicate hands have removed the earth, dragged it along, and helped to elevate the immense amphitheatre of the grand confederation. It is no longer the love of voluptuous softness that attracts their regard; it is the sacred fire of patriotism.

The laws which are to reform education, and with it the national manners, are already prepared; they shall advance, they shall fortify the cause of liberty by means of their happy influence, and become the second saviours of their country.

Franklin

Franklin did not omit any of the means of being useful to men, or serviceable to society. He spoke to all conditions, to both sexes, to every age.—This amiable moralist descended, in his writings to the most artless details, to the most ingenuous familiarities, to the first ideas of a rural, a commercial, and a civil life; to the dialogues of old men and children; full at once of all the verdure and all the maturity of wisdom; in short, the prudent lessons arising from the exposition of those obscure, happy, easy virtues, which form so many links in the chain of a good man's life, derived immense weight from that reputation for genius which he had acquired, by being one of the first naturalists and greatest philosophers in the universe.

At one and the same time, he governed nature in the heavens and in the hearts of men.

Amidst the tempests of the atmosphere, he directed the thunder; amidst the storms of society, he directed the passions. Think, Gentlemen, with what attentive docility, with what religious respect, one must hear the voice of a simple man, who preached up human happiness, when it was recollected that it was the powerful voice of the same man who regulated the lightning.

He electrified the consciences, in order to extract the destructive fire of vice, exactly in the same manner as he electrified the heavens, in order peaceably to invite them from the terrible fire of the elements. He thus exercised (O power immense of wisdom and of genius!) two attributes of the Deity.

Figure to your own minds, this sage with the celestial physiognomy which he possessed with that calm and august forehead, reuniting, in his own person, an authority over the natural and social world; does he not resemble a beneficent God descended upon earth, in order to extinguish the wrath of heaven and teach virtue to mankind?

The leisure hours of Franklin were so many acts of goodness, which, if they were not too numerous, would form the chief charm of this oration. His amuse-

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ments consisted in experiments which resembled prodigies, and of which a single instance will suffice to give some idea. He himself, in a letter to one of the most learned Members of the Royal Society of London,* has presented the description of a festival, which he gave to his friends and the public upon the borders of the Schuylkill.

An electric spark, without any other conductor than the water, served to light the volatile spirit prepared to illuminate both banks of the river, at one and the same moment. The visible shock of the electric matter, appeared, to the ravished eyes of the spectators, to kill the the game and wild fowl prepared for the treat; culinary instruments turned and dressed the viands by means of the heat arising from the ethereal flame, while the goblets, as if filled by magic, became replenished with the choicest wines of Europe.

In the mean time his guests, composed of the most learned men in Philadelphia, accompanied by a discharge of artillery from an electric battery, drank the healths of all the famous philosophers of France, of England, of Switzerland, of Holland, of Italy, and of Germany, by turns, while the echoes arising from the neighbouring shores spread abroad and multiplied these solemn salutations. The joyous acclamations of the people of a country formerly savage and deserted, but at present inhabited by numerous nations of new men, who have formed alliance between science and morality, reached to the skies.

You may easily conceive, Gentlemen, what a mild, but sure ascendant, this sage, who inspired his citizens with a taste for such noble pleasures, exercised over their minds! Not a single moment did he lose in the course of his whole life; not one of his thoughts but what tended to the public welfare; not one of his laborious or of his leisure hours which did not say men, "It is thus that existence becomes valuable, it is thus "that mankind become happy!"

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* *Mr. Collinson.*

I have not as yet attempted to paint any thing more than the philosopher, who, by the force of his ideas, and the communication of his sentiments, bestowed a charm unknown before, and a new activity upon social morality.

Franklin had formed men: He had conceived still more noble projects—he wished to create citizens. He had already completed the basis, which is morality; he determined upon this to elevate the column of legislation. It is now the legislator whom I must exhibit, it is the electrician of nations that is about to begin his operations; it is he who composed and completed the most charming model of liberty that was ever presented to the universe; and it is to France, now become free, it is before her first legislature that I am ambitious of exhibiting this picture; it will awaken slaves, it will transport Frenchmen!

PART II.

"Traveller, inform Sparta that we have died in "obedience to her holy laws."

This inscription over the bodies of those who perished at Thermopylæ, is the most superb monument that was ever erected to the honour of Greece; It proves that antiquity recognized citizens in an angle of the world.

The city of Lacedemon, the only one which merits that appellation, on account of the separation of the three powers which organized its government (for the anarchy of Athens, and the war of civic elements in Rome, prohibit them, although in other respects immortal from enjoying this singular honour,) the city of Lacedemon was destined to endure but a short time, for it had not humanity for its basis. Mankind themselves

ſelves were not as yet acquainted with it. It was neceſſary that whole ages ſhould firſt elapſe: and the Spartans, citizens without being men, were to be annihilated by the force of Nature, who does not long tolerate whatever contradicts her laws.

Methinks I now behold a more noble monument erected between the old and the new world: It riſes out of the boſom of the Atlantic ocean; it looks on one ſide towards Europe, and on the other towards America: the image of the auguſt Franklin ſurmounts it, and points out the following inſcription: "Men, "love your fellow-men! Be free! Promote commerce "and the arts; but, above all, cultivate humanity."

Legiſlator of mankind! thy countrymen, the Americans, obey thee; France liſtens to thy voice, ſhe repeats thy accents; the univerſe awakes at the ſound!

The light ſcattered over the world by the philoſopher of nature, from the city of Philadelphia, not only excited the ſcintillations of private, but it alſo kindled the fire of public, virtue which compoſes the life of nations.

From the banks of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, Franklin attentively ſurveyed the conduct of England, marked her errors and her imprudence, arouſed that juſt diſcontent which her cruelties inſpired, obſerved how far the patience of the people could be ſtretched, reinforced the principles of liberty, but yet preached up peace and moderation, until that day ſhould arrive, in which violence and injuſtice were no longer to be ſuffered, and a revolution was to be expected as an inevitable event. His wiſdom propheſied the approach of liberty, and accompliſhed it; his fellow-countrymen, the Americans who felt the iron hand of deſpotiſm, but yet ſcarcely dreamed of independence, were already, in the calculations of his genius, the firſt free citizens of the univerſe.

The miniſters of England were well acquainted with the aſcendency of this great man, and were alarmed at his influence. In conformity to their ſyſtem of corruption, they were determined to bring him over to their

their views, and were perſuaded that, by beſtowing one of the lucrative employments upon him, which they had the diſpoſal of in the colonies, his private intereſt would induce him to aſſiſt them in ſubjugating his countrymen.

He was accordingly appointed Director General of the Poſt Office belonging to the Engliſh colonies in America.*

In this employment he perceived that he could be uſeful to the people and to himſelf; for it furniſhed him with a better opportunity of communicating his principles throughout the continent. He well knew that his labours would accelerate the freedom of America; he was authoriſed by his office to viſit all the provinces without the leaſt ſuſpicion whatever; he thus was enabled to ſound the diſpoſitions of the inhabitants, to augment their horror for oppreſſion, and to induce them to reconquer the rights of man and of citizens.

Franklin undoubtedly foreſaw, while deſtroying an oppreſſive government, the favours of which he turned to the public advantage, that he ſhould make great ſacrifices in regard to his own private intereſt; but his natural ſimplicity and prudent œconomy had enabled him to accumulate a fortune ſufficient to inſure his independence; and he always dreaded great opulence, either to himſelf or his fellow-citizens.

He had always two great ideas in contemplation; The firſt was, to elevate England and all her colonies to the principles of civil liberty; and if that did not happen, at leaſt to give freedom to his native country. Had the former ſcheme ſucceeded (and it gave him the greater degree of pleaſure,) the parliament of England was to have had a full national and colonial repreſentation. The King was to have carried the legal wiſhes of the fellow-citizens of the two continents into

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* *He was entrusted with the southern department only.*

execution, and the perfect combination of the legislative power of all, and the executive power of one, would have realized to Great Britain that noble constitution destined to form the happiness of France.

But if it were impossible thus to insure the felicity of the whole empire, and if the system of colonial oppression was to be continued, then he thought that a grand example ought to be set by America to the world, that the cause of the people ought to be avenged, and that Liberty ought to hoist her standard in another hemisphere.

Thus all the views of this great man were in perfect coincidence with the principles of truth and of justice; for whatever might be the last determination of the oppressors, they themselves would either become citizens, or enable their fellow slaves to become so, by establishing the first free government that ever existed in the world.

Such was the position of public affairs when Franklin was sent to England by the assembly of Pennsylvania, in order to defend the colonies against the enterprises of the court. He did not dissemble his opinions to the English ministry, who, at that period, were employing their usual perfidious arts of bribery and corruption, in order to exact several new and vexatious impofts from his countrymen.

Franklin announced to them the infallible result of their proceedings.

The Americans were alarmed, and protested with one accord against this act of tyranny. Their conduct appeared to the generous patriots of England (where there are many good citizens, altho' they are not suffered to rule the nation) to be dictated by the just rights derived from oppression; but it seemed to be the revolt of slaves, who wished to free themselves from the authority of a master, in the eyes of the servile minions of the sovereign, who are more numerous, and who are always employed by the government.

Amidst these important conjectures, Franklin is ordered to the bar of the House of Commons; he obeys.

How

How great appeared that man, the defender of liberty, before an ariſtocracy who monopolize the independence of a nation! He was unacquainted with the queſtions which were to be put to him, but his mind was ever prepared. Not a ſingle vague idea, not an uſeleſs or unneceſſary word; thoughts ſimple, but vaſt; ſentiments loyal, but yet generous; the boldeſt aſſertions; the moſt convincing reaſons; the moſt poſitive denials, afforded no triumph to his enemies. With a maſculine eloquence and undiſguiſed truth, he proved all the firſt acts of the American inſurrection to be legitimate, and aſſerted that all the projects that could be ſuggeſted by Engliſh violence, would be abortive, and without effect.

"Either let us be free together," ſays he, "or we "ſhall be ſo without, and even in ſpite of you. If "you do not annul your oppreſſive laws, we ſhall con- "tinue to make new ones independent of you. If you "endeavour to ſubjugate us, we ſhall triumph. Your "armies? They are not numerous enough? Your "navy? All the navies upon earth are not capable of "making us ſubmit to your will. Make your electi- "on between our love and our hate; we have already "made our choice between the liberty that is to com- "bine us, and thoſe chains with which we are to be "manacled."

This affords but a feeble image of the dignified conduct of Franklin in the face of all England. Cyneas beheld at Rome, in that Senate which governed Italy, an aſſembly of gods, and trembled! Franklin beheld at London, in that ſenate which commanded the ſeas of two worlds, a corrupted legiſlature, and was undiſmayed. The ambaſſador of Theſſaly ſpoke in the name of a King, and what was a King before the Roman people! But the agent of Philadelphia ſpoke as a man in the name of men, whom he was about to render free! and free men have ever been reſpected as the firſt of human beings by the Engliſh!

He retired honoured by the nation, but deteſted by the Court, convinced that a parliament ſold to the miniſtry

miniſtry would ſmite America with the ſceptre of deſpotiſm, and ſupport their wrongs by the ſwords of mercenaries; that his countrymen would be forced to defend their own rights, to conſummate their independence, and to vindicate the cauſe of human nature.

Returned to his native continent, he revolved all theſe ideas in his boſom at Philadelphia, Waſhington and Adams enter into his views; the firſt congreſs is convocated and aſſembled; Franklin, or rather the Genius of Liberty, preſides at it; every thing is reſolved upon; new laws are enacted, but the principles of them already exiſt; all the coloniſts are citizens; the patriot troops are about to be called forth; they are already formed———all the citizens are ſoldiers.

The philoſopher of humanity, the friend of peace, Franklin, had upwards of ten years before prepared all the plans of the inſurgent army. The number and order of the regiments and companies, the pay, the inſtructions, all the military details, written by his own hand two *luſtres* before the inſurrection, and depoſited in the archives of Philadelphia, atteſt at once the extent and foreſight of his ideas.

Advance, Engliſhmen; arm your fleets; pour in the warriors of your three kingdoms; tranſport the mercenaries of Germany to America, now become free; for Franklin preſides in her councils, and Waſhington regulates her armies! Wiſdom, and at length victory, declare againſt you.

By means of thoſe manœuvers which diſplay at once the ſkill and the ferocity of your bands of robbers, you redouble the energy of freemen, add to the horror againſt tyrants, and enſure to the United States but greater triumphs. The contraſt exhibited by the humanity of the citizens of America in the midſt of moſt of your moſt diſgraceful defeats, and the fury of your ſervile troops in their ſlight but impious ſucceſſes, ſhall change your glory to opprobrium, and the blood of a few peaceable men, immolated to your rage, ſhall furniſh

furnish the seeds of victory for the combatants of liberty!

I shall not here enter into the exposition of the sagacious conduct, the profound combinations, the unexpected resources, he invincible resistance, the decisive actions, the prodigies of glory, which have immortalized the campaigns of the armies of Independence.

They did not possess any metal, but iron; any military knowledge, but courage; any experience in combats, but a genius fitted for victory; any discipline proceeding from long previous separation, but a General, who was all of a sudden the creator of an army.

From men who wish to become free, from Franklin who directs, from Washington who commands, what is not to be expected?

However, even iron at last is wanting; it is procured from Europe. Officers are not in sufficient abundance; they are invited from France.

Franklin, now in the seventieth year of his age, had just returned from Canada, where he had been drawn, during the most rigorous season of the year, by the interests of the revolution, and, in the course of his journey, had traversed, in company with Montgomery, the rivers and the lakes, at that time covered with ice. He is now appointed to proceed to France, in order to assist the efforts of Deane, and invite those succours which they were to procure from a generous people, who had submitted, during a dishonourable peace, to all the haughty pride, and all the intolerable outrages, of the English ministry.

He departs instantly, although he did not possess a single piece of gold; for his country was destitute of money. He arrives at Paris with a cargo of tobacco, in the same manner as when Holland determined to become free, her deputies arrived at Brussels with a convoy of herrings, in order to pay their expences.

Admiration

Admiration preceded, attachment followed him. Every tongue celebrated his name; every look was fixed upon, every heart leaped at the sight of him: He spoke, he was listened to, and he succeeded. The treaty of commerce with the insurgents is proclaimed; ammunition and warlike instruments are sent from our ports—America receives them with gratitude; the free men of the new, have now allies in the old world; they are soon also to have rivals, emulous to imitate, and, if possible, to excel them.

At the voice of Franklin, at the voice of glory, appears young Fayette, or rather disappear in Europe! Shew thyself to America, astonished at thy noble daring; France shall not learn thy flight but with the news of thy first victory in the country of liberty.

The furious English every where attacked our vessels; but they no longer possessed the advantage of those perfidious stratagems which they had formerly made use of, before a declaration of war.

Our naval armaments were in readiness: Orvilliers and Estaing command them. In one quarter* of the globe the English fleet experiences an invincible resistance, and finds its only resource to consist in flight; in another† it meets with a signal defeat; and the West-India Islands‡ are obliged to receive into their ports those troops which were destined to conquer them. Paul Johns,* an American commander, takes several prizes upon the very coasts of Great Britain Rochambeau leads the French legions in the United States; La Fayette† is the hero of the two nations: Washington is the arbiter of victory.

The

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* *This alludes to the engagement off Ushant.*

† *At Grenada.*

‡ *Tobago, &c.*

* *This officer, so celebrated during the American war, died lately in great poverty at Paris.*

† *The subsequent conduct of this General has converted the eulogiums of the patriot British of Calvados into* anathemas.

The independence of America is conſummated; England, in its turn, is conſtrained to ſue for peace. The ſovereignty of a great people is acknowledged, and from the banks of the Seine, Franklin, the harbinger, the director, and the very ſoul of this ſublime novelt in the univerſe, conferring all the glory upon thoſe who had the heroiſm of acquiring it by means of arms, receives with the calmneſs of a philoſopher, the felicitations of America, of France, of the Engliſh patriots themſelves, and of all thoſe men who feel the goodlike workings of humanity.

The ſovereignty of the nation is eſtabliſhed; this then is the moment to perfect their laws. The ambaſſador of America was its legiſlator: He had already prepared, and he now tranſmits to his fellow-citizens the conſtitution of Pennſylvania, connects it with all the eſtabliſhments of the confederated ſtates.

The rights of man are developed, for the firſt time, in laws ſimple and beneficent as thoſe of nature the rights of citizens are elevated on the fundamental baſis of ſociety. The organization of the public power is combined with the private intereſt of every man, and the univerſal good of humanity, with the individual advantage of every patriot, and the general proſperity of the country.

The inſtitutions of Franklin are unanimouſly hailed as the code of wiſdom and beneficence. We have adopted them into the new laws of France, and we ought to regard their author as one of the founders of this ſacred conſtitution, which is about to attain all the elevation of reaſon and of juſtice, all the perfection of ſocial and natural order, and which will one day be the Pharos of the human kind.

Here, Gentlemen, the intereſt of this diſcourſe becomes augmented. It is my intention to compare America become independent, with France now free, and to preſage, from theſe circumſtances, the deſtinies of the univerſe.

I have already ſaid, and I repeat it again—The Anglo-Americans were the firſt great people who poſ-

ſeſſed

ſeſſed the plenitude of liberty; the firſt that prepared itſelf to enjoy the perfection of freedom is the French nation; and in both theſe points of view Franklin is the firſt legiſlator of the world. Let the preſent and future generations hear and judge!

In Switzerland a ſenatorial ariſtocracy domineers; in Holland the Stadtholderate tends towards deſpotiſm; in England the people poſſeſs a corrupt, and but an inadequate, repreſentation: The Miniſter regulates the elections; a Houſe of Peers arreſts every thing at its will: the Court, by means of money, obtains money; by money, ſuffrages: In ſhort, in whatever point of view you are pleaſed to conſider the public welfare, the King hath an abſolute power over it. If there is a country in the world where there is a phantom of Liberty idolized by the people, and no real Liberty which they can love, it is there. But this very phantom had hitherto ſomething venerable in it. The imaginations of the Engliſh, exalted by the temporary glory of their country, beholding around her nothing but nations of ſlaves, who wiſhed to continue ſuch, they, with good reaſon, have looked upon themſelves, until now, as the people who poſſeſſed the firſt rank in the univerſe.

Franklin once ſaid to the Engliſh nation, "Admit "all the men who belong to your government in the "different parts of the globe, to a free competition "for, and an equal repreſentation in your legiſlature; "Let the King alone ſway the executive ſceptre, and "never be permitted to ſtretch it forth but in the "name of thoſe laws made by the repreſentatives, and "conſented to by the colonies and provinces; you will "then poſſeſs the ſupreme ſocial unity, and the grand "monarchy of liberty. The univerſe will all aſſimi-"late to your empire, or at leaſt all the earth will be "eager to imitate ſuch a beautiful model: you will "thus have the glory of commencing the happineſs of "the world, and enſuring the fraternity of the human "kind."

He

He ſpoke to thoſe who were reſolved to be deaf, who would not hear him, and who embraced nothing but a chimera of liberty in their own iſland, which they obſtinately perſiſted in ſupporting by a tyrannical domination abroad.

But America inclined her head, and liſtened to his voice. France, although ſtill crouching under her old and heavy fetters, ruminating even then in her thoughts the great leſſons of Mably and Rouſſeau, lent an attentive ear and ſaid—"The moment will arrive, it "faſt approaches, when that which England had not "the wiſdom to undertake, I ſhall have the glory to "execute."

In the mean time, the new States organize themſelves into a federate republic. Every other ſpecies of government was impracticable. The perfection ariſing from *unity* could not be expected from a multitude of independent provinces, of which each poſſeſſed the ſovereign right of adopting whatever form it pleaſed.

The mutual neceſſity of allying and connecting itſelf together, ſo as to form but one people, gave riſe to the Congreſs, which is deſtined to regulate thoſe vaſt objects that intereſt the whole of the States. Each province poſſeſſes its own proper legiſlative aſſembly, and alſo an independent power of executing its own decrees.

I repeat it once more, the Genius of liberty reigns there in her full plenitude of glory; the union is happy, but the unity is not abſolute, and cannot be ſo. How is it poſſible to inſtitute a ſupreme chief? Each of the United States has an equal right to it; and moſt horrid diſſenſions would inevitably reſult from the ſole idea of a *King*.

The creation of a free monarchy, the moſt perfect of all poſſible governments, was reſerved for us.

Hail, France! vaſt, yet united, country; rear up thy immenſe body; break thy chains; let the thunder of thy liberty ſnap them in twain; let the Baſtile and all the fortreſſes of deſpotiſm fall and diſappear; let

Fayette

Fayette preſent himſelf as the ſoldier of his country; the ſon of France, the pupil of Waſhington; he ſhall continue a citizen until his death: Let the elected repreſentatives of all the claſſes of the empire, no longer form ſeparate orders, and let there be an abſolute equality, and, with free competition of voices, a ſole legiſlature. Let them ſpeak in the name of the whole nation, and let the nation reply—"This is our will!"

Beloved chief of the French! Monarch, who, in ſpite of thyſelf, haſt hitherto poſſeſſed but the falſe grandeur of the nation, ceaſe to be the powerleſs idol of a ſmall and abhorred *cast* of oppreſſing deſpots, and become the reſpected ſovereign of twenty millions of freemen. Aſcend, and thou will be the firſt Prince in the world, whoever poſſeſſed that glory—aſcend the throne of the laws, and ſee not, within the large horizon of this empire, aught but that liberty which gives and maintains thee in full poſſeſſion of thy all powerful ſceptre. Thou governeſt citizens; thou ruleſt over men; thou art a King, and the only one upon earth!

This perfection of human genius has hitherto been wanting; it was neceſſary that France ſhould ariſe in order to reſolve the problem of ages, to organize ſocial order, and in abſolute unity, and to preſent to her a chief impaſſable as a Divinity, and, like him, invariable in his juſtice!

Eternal Ruler of human occurrences! who, according to thy promiſe, wilt diſpoſe every thing in favour of our infant liberty,* it is thou who haſt accumulated in ſilence thoſe remarkable, prodigious and miraculous events, in order to operate the creation of our happineſs.

But, in the combination of all thy benefits, the greateſt is, that thou haſt given us a Franklin, and connected us with an America; the moſt propitious, is

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* *Tu autem dominator virtutis .... cum magna reverentia disponis nos. Sap.* 12. 18.

is that thou haſt placed in the balance of the deſtinies, the genius of the National Aſſembly, and the patriotiſm of Bailly* and La Fayette; the moſt happy is, that thou haſt in one day given liberty to the capital and the provinces, and diſpoſed a King to embrace it.

O memorable ſucceſs! The ſurrounding nations can ſcarce give credit to the truth of it; but they begin to be moved at the ſight; their doubts ſeem to evaporate, and they at length believe that they may be happy.

Tyrants tremble; their reign has paſſed away; we have now brothers in ſentiment over all the earth. But a little longer, and, in a mutual independence and equal affection, the nations of the univerſe will be aſtoniſhed at being happy, and at finding themſelves Frenchmen!

Venerable old man, auguſt philoſopher, legiſlator of the felicity of thy country, prophet of the fraternity of the human race, what extatic happineſs embelliſhed the end of thy career! From thy fortunate aſylum, and in the midſt of thy brothers who enjoyed in tranquility the fruit of thy virtues, and the ſucceſs of thy genius, thou haſt ſung ſongs of deliverance. The laſt looks which thou caſt around thee, beheld America happy, France, on the other ſide of the ocean, free, and a ſure indication of the approaching freedom and happineſs of the world.

The United States, looking upon themſelves as thy children, have bewailed the death of the father of their republic: France, thy family by adoption, has honoured thee as the founder of her laws; and the human race has revered thee as the univerſal patriarch who has formed the alliance of nature with ſociety. Thy remembrance belongs to all ages; thy memory to all nations; thy glory to eternity!

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* *Then Mayor of Paris.*

ESSAYS,

HUMOUROUS, MORAL, AND LITERARY, &c.

ON EARLY MARRIAGES.

TO JOHN ALLEYNE, ESQ.

DEAR JACK,

YOU desire, you say, my impartial thoughts on the subject of an early marriage, by way of answer to the numberless objections that have been made by numerous persons to your own. You may remember when you consulted me on the occasion, that I thought youth on both sides to be no objection. Indeed, from the marriages that have fallen under my observation, I am rather inclined to think, that early ones stand the best chance of happiness. The temper and habits of the young are not yet become so stiff and uncomplying, as when more advanced in life; they form more easily to each other, and hence many occasions of disgust are removed. And if youth has less of that prudence which is necessary to manage a family, yet the parents and elder friends of young married persons are generally at hand to afford their advice, which amply supplies

ſupplies that defect; and by early marriage, youth is ſooner formed to regular and uſeful life; and poſſibly ſome of thoſe accidents or connections, that might have injured the conſtitution or reputation, or both, are thereby happily prevented. Particular circumſtances of particular perſons, may poſſibly ſometimes make it prudent to delay entering into that ſtate; but in general, when nature has rendered our bodies fit for it, the preſumption is in nature's favour, that ſhe has not judged amiſs in making us deſire it. Late marriages are often attended, too, with this further inconvenience, that there is not the ſame chance that the parent ſhall live to ſee their offspring educated. "Late children," ſays the Spaniſh proverb, "are early orphans." A melancholy reflection to thoſe whoſe caſe it may be! With us in America, marriages are generally in the morning of life; our children are therefore educated and ſettled in the world by noon; and thus, our buſineſs being done, we have an afternoon and evening of chearful leiſure to ourſelves, ſuch as our friend at preſent enjoys. By theſe early marriages we are bleſſed with more children; and from the mode among us, founded by nature, of every mother ſuckling and nurſing her own child, more of them are raiſed. Thence the ſwift progreſs of population among us, unparalleled in Europe. In fine, I am glad you are married, and congratulate you moſt cordially upon it. You are now in the way of becoming a uſeful citizen; and you have eſcaped the unnatural ſtate of celibacy for life—the fate of many here, who never intended it, but who having too long poſtponed the change of their condition, find, at length, that it is too late to think of it, and ſo live all their lives in a ſituation that greatly leſſens a man's value. An odd volume of a ſet of books bears not the value of its proportion to the ſet: what think you of the odd half of a pair of ſciſſors? it can't well do any thing; it may poſſibly ſerve to ſcrape a trencher.

Pray make my compliments and beſt wiſhes acceptable to your bride. I am old and heavy, or I ſhould

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ere this have preſented them in perſon. I ſhall make but ſmall uſe of the old man's previlege, that of giving advice to younger friends. Treat your wife always with reſpect; it will procure reſpect to you, not only from her, but from all that obſerve it. Never uſe a ſlighting expreſſion to her, even in jeſt; for ſlights in jeſt, after frequent bandyings, are apt to end in angry earneſt. Be ſtudious in your profeſſion, and you will be learned. Be induſtrious and frugal, and you will be rich. Be ſober and temperate, and you will be healthy. Be in general virtuous, and you will be happy. At leaſt, you will, by ſuch conduct, ſtand the beſt chance for ſuch conſequences. I pray God to bleſs you both! being ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

ON THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER, Mr. JOHN FRANKLIN.

TO MISS HUBBARD.

I CONDOLE with you. We have loſt a moſt dear and valuable relation. But it is the will of God and nature, that theſe mortal bodies be laid aſide, when the ſoul is to enter into real life. This is rather an embryo ſtate, a preparation for living. A man is not completely born until he be dead. Why then ſhould we grieve that a new child is born among the immortals a new member added to their happy ſociety? We are ſpirits. That bodies ſhould be lent us, while they can afford us pleaſure aſſiſt us in acquiring knowledge, or doing good to our fellow-creatures, is a kind and benevolent

benevolent act of God. When they become unfit for these purposes, and afford us pain instead of pleasure, instead of an aid become an incumbrance, and answer none of the intentions for which they were given, it is equally kind and benevolent that a way is provided by which we may get rid of them. Death is that way. We ourselves, in some cases, prudently choose a partial death. A mangled painful limb, which cannot be restored, we willingly cut off. He who plucks out a tooth, parts with it freely, since the pain goes with it: and he who quits the whole body, parts at once with all pains, and possibilities of pains and diseases, it was liable to, or capable of making him suffer.

Our friend and we were invited abroad on a party of pleasure, which is to last for ever. His chair was ready first; and he is gone before us. We could not all conveniently start together: and why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are soon to follow, and know where to find him?

Adieu,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO THE LATE

DOCTOR MATHER, OF BOSTON.

REV. SIR,

I RECEIVED your kind letter, with your excellent advice to the United States, which I read with great pleasure, and hope it will be duly regarded. Such writings, though they may be lightly passed over by many readers, yet, if they make a deep impression on one active mind in a hundred, the effects may be considerable.

Permit

Permit me to mention one little instance, which, though it relates to myself, will not be quite uninteresting to you. When I was a boy, I met with a book entitled, "Essays to do good," which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life: for I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good, than any other kind of reputation: and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book.

You mention your being in your seventy-eighth year. I am in my seventy-ninth. We are grown old together. It is now more than sixty years since I left Boston; but I remember well both your father and grandfather, having heard them both in the pulpit, and seen them in their houses. The last time I saw your father was in the beginning of 1724 when I visited him after my first trip to Pennsylvania: he received me in his library; and on my taking leave, shewed me a shorter way out of the house, through a narrow passage, which was crossed by a beam over head. We were still talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said hastily, "Stoop, Stoop!" I did not understand him till I felt my hand hit against the beam. He was a man who never missed any occasion of giving instruction: and upon this he said to me: "You are young and have the world before you: stoop as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps." This advice thus beat into my heart, has frequently been of use to me; and I often think of it, when I see pride mortified, and misfortunes brought upon people by their carrying their heads too high.

I long much to see again my native place; and once hoped to lay my bones there. I left it in 1723. I visited it in 1733, 1743, 1753, and 1763; and in 1773 I was in England. In 1775 I had a sight of it, but could

could not enter, it being in poſſeſſion of the enemy. I did hope to have been there in 1783, but could not obtain a diſmiſſion from this employment here; and now I fear I ſhall never have that happineſs. My beſt wiſhes however attend my dear country, "*esto perpetua.*" It is now bleſſed with an excellent conſtitution: may it laſt for ever!

This powerful monarchy continues its friendſhip for the United States. It is a friendſhip of the utmoſt importance to our ſecurity, and ſhould be carefully cultivated. Britain has not yet well digeſted the loſs of its dominion over us; and has ſtill at times ſome flattering hopes of recovering it. Accidents may increaſe thoſe hopes, and encourage dangerous attempts. A breach between us and France would infallibly bring the Engliſh again upon our backs: and yet we have ſome wild beaſts among our countrymen, who are endeavouring to weaken that connection.

Let us preſerve our reputation, by performing our engagements; our credit, by fulfilling our contracts; and our friends, by gratitude and kindneſs: for we know not how ſoon we may again have occaſion for all of them.

With great and ſincere eſteem,
I have the honour to be,
Reverend Sir,
Your moſt obedient and
moſt humble ſervant,

PASSY, May 12, 1784.

B. FRANKLIN.

THE WHISTLE.

A TRUE STORY.

WRITTEN TO HIS NEPHEW.

WHEN I was a child, at ſeven years old, my friends, on a holiday, filled my pocket with coppers. I went directly to a ſhop where they ſold toys for children; and being charmed with the ſound of a *whiſtle*, that I met by the way in the hands of another boy, I voluntarily offered him all my money for one. I then came home, and went a whiſtling all over the houſe, much pleaſed with my *whiſtle*, but diſturbing all the family. My brothers, and ſiſters, and couſins, underſtanding the bargain I had made, told me I had given four times as much for it as it was worth. This put me in mind what good things I might have bought with the reſt of my money; and they laughed at me ſo much for my folly, that I cried with vexation; and the reflection gave me more chagrin than the *whiſtle* gave me pleaſure.

This however was afterwards of uſe to me, the impreſſion continuing on my mind: ſo that often, when I was tempted to buy ſome unneceſſary thing, I ſaid to myſelf, *Don't give too much for the whiſtle;* and ſo I ſaved my money.

As I grew up, came into the world, and obſerved the actions of men, I thought I met with many, very many, who *gave too much for the whiſtle.*

When I ſaw any one too ambitious of court favours, ſacrificing his time in attendance on levees, his repoſe, his liberty, his virtue, and perhaps his friends, to attain

tain it, I have said to myself, *This man gives too much for his whistle.*

When I saw another fond of popularity, constantly employing himself in political bustles, neglecting his own affairs, and ruining them by that neglect: *He pays, indeed* says I, *too much for his whistle.*

If I knew a miser who gave up every kind of comfortable living, all the pleasure of doing good to others, all the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the joys of benevolent friendship, for the sake of accumulating wealth: *Poor man,* says I, *you do indeed pay too much for your whistle.*

When I meet a man of pleasure, sacrificing every laudable improvement of the mind, or of his fortune, to mere corporeal sensations; *Mistaken man,* says I, *you are providing pain for yourself, instead of pleasure: you give too much for your whistle.*

If I see one fond of fine clothes, fine furniture, fine equipages, all above his fortune, for which he contracts debts, and ends his career in prison; *Alas,* says I, *he has paid dear, very dear for his whistle.*

When I see a beautiful, sweet-tempered girl, married to an ill-natured brute of a husband: *What a pity it is,* says I, *that she has paid so much for a whistle!*

In short, I conceived that great part of the miseries of mankind were brought upon them by the false estimates they had made of the value of things, and by their giving too much for their *whistles.*

A PETITION.

TO THOSE WHO HAVE THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF EDUCATION.

I ADDRESS myself to all the friends of youth, and conjure them to direct their compassionate regards to my unhappy fate, in order to remove the prejudices of which I am the victim. There are twin sisters of us: and the two eyes of man do not more resemble, nor are capable of being upon better terms with each other, than my sister and myself, were it not for the partiality of our parents, who make the most injurious distinctions between us. From my infancy I have been led to consider my sister as a being of more elevated rank. I was suffered to grow up without the least instruction, while nothing was spared in her education. She had masters to teach her writing, drawing, music, and other accomplishments; but if by chance I touched a pencil, a pen or a needle, I was bitterly rebuked: and more than once have I been beaten for being aukward, and wanting a graceful manner. It is true, my sister associated me with her upon some occasions; but she always made a point of taking the lead, calling upon me only from necessity, or to figure by her side.

But conceive not, Sirs, that my complaints are instigated merely by vanity—No; my uneasiness is occasioned by an object much more serious. It is the practice in our family, that the whole business of providing for its subsistence falls upon my sister and myself. If any indisposition should attack my sister—and I mention

tion it in confidence, upon this occaſion, that ſhe is ſubject to the gout, the rheumatiſm and cramp, without making mention of other accidents—what would be the fate of our poor ſamily? Muſt not the regret of our parents be exceſſive, at having placed ſo great a difference between ſiſters who are ſo perfectly equal? Alas! we muſt periſh from diſtreſs: for it would not be in my power even to ſcrawl a ſuppliant petition for relief, having been obliged to employ the hand of another in tranſcribing the requeſt which I have now the honour to prefer to you.

Condeſcend, Sirs, to make my parents ſenſible of the injuſtice of an excluſive tenderneſs, and of the neceſſity of diſtributing their care and affection among all their children equally.

I am, with a profound reſpect,
SIRS,
Your obedient ſervant,
THE LEFT HAND.

THE
HANDSOME AND DEFORMED LEG.

THERE are two ſorts of people in the world, who, with equal degrees of health and wealth, and the other comforts of life, become the one happy, and the other miſerable. This ariſes very much from the different views in which they conſider things, perſons, and events; and the effect of thoſe different views upon their own minds.

In whatever ſituation men can be placed, they may find conveniences and inconveniences; in whatever company,

company, they may find perſons and converſation more or leſs pleaſing: at whatever table, they may meet with meats and drinks of better and worſe taſte, diſhes better and worſe dreſſed: in whatever climate, they will find good and bad weather: under whatever government, they may find good and bad laws, and good and bad adminiſtration of thoſe laws; in whatever poem, or work of genius, they may ſee faults and beauties: in almoſt every face and every perſon, they may diſcover fine features and defects, good and bad qualities.

Under theſe circumſtances, the two ſorts of people above mentioned, fix their attention, thoſe who are diſpoſed to be happy, on the conveniencies of things the pleaſant part of converſation, the well dreſſed diſhes, the goodneſs of the wines, the fine weather, &c. and enjoy all with cheerfulneſs. Thoſe who are to be unhappy, think and ſpeak only of the contraries. Hence they are continually diſcontented themſelves, and by their remarks, ſour the pleaſures of ſociety; offend perſonally many people, and make themſelves every where diſagreeable. If this turn of mind was founded in nature, ſuch unhappy perſons would be the more to be pitied. But as the diſpoſition to criticiſe, and to be diſguſted, is, perhaps, taken up originally by imitation, and is, unawares, grown into a habit, which, though at preſent ſtrong, may nevertheleſs be cured, when thoſe who have it are convinced of its bad effects on their felicity; I hope this little admonition may be of ſervice to them, and put them on changing a habit, which, though in the exerciſe it is chiefly an act of imagination, yet has ſerious conſequences in life, as it brings on real griefs and misfortunes. For as many are offended by, and nobody loves, this ſort of people; no one ſhews them more than the moſt common civility and reſpect, and ſcarcely that; and this frequently puts them out of humour, and draws them into diſputes and contentions. If they aim at obtaining ſome advantage in rank or fortune nobody wiſhes them ſucceſs, or will

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ſtir a ſtep, or ſpeak a word to favour their pretenſions. If they incur public cenſure or diſgrace, no one will defend or excuſe, and many join to aggravate their miſconduct, and render them completely odious. If theſe people will not change this bad habit, and condeſcend to be pleaſed with what is pleaſing, without fretting themſelves and others about the contraries, it is good for others to avoid an acquaintance with them; which is always diſagreeable, and ſometimes very inconvenient, eſpecially when one finds one's ſelf entangled in their quarrels.

An old philoſophical friend of mine was grown, from experience, very cautious in this particular, and carefully avoided any intimacy with ſuch people. He had, like other philoſophers, a thermometer to ſhew him the heat of the weather; and a barometer, to mark when it was likely to prove good or bad; but there being no inſtrument invented to diſcover, at firſt ſight, this unpleaſing diſpoſition in a perſon, he, for that purpoſe, made uſe of his legs; one of which was remarkably handſome, the other, by ſome accident, crooked and deformed. If a ſtranger, at the firſt interview, regarded his ugly leg more than his handſome one, he doubted him. If he ſpoke of it, and took no notice of the handſome leg, that was ſufficient to determine my philoſopher to have no further acquaintance with him. Every body has not this two-legged inſtrument: but every one, with a little attention, may obſerve ſigns of that carping, fault-finding diſpoſition, and take the ſame reſolution of avoiding the acquaintance of thoſe infected with it. I therefore adviſe thoſe critical, querulous, diſcontented, unhappy people, that if they wiſh to be reſpected and beloved by others, and happy in themſelves, they ſhould *leave off looking at the ugly leg.*

CONVERSATION

OF A

COMPANY OF EPHEMERÆ;

WITH THE SOLILOQUY OF ONE ADVANCED IN AGE.

TO MADAME BRILLIANT.

YOU may remember, my dear friend, that when we lately ſpent that happy day, in the delightful garden and ſweet ſociety of the *Moulin Joly*, I ſtopt a little in one of our walks, and ſtaid ſome time behind the company. We had been ſhewn numberleſs ſkeletons of a kind of little fly, called an Ephemeræ, whoſe ſucceſſive generations, we were told, were bred and expired within the day. I happened to ſee a living company of them on a leaf, who appeared to be engaged in converſation. You know I underſtand all the inferior animal tongues: my too great application to the ſtudy of them, Is the beſt excuſe I can give for the little progreſs, I have made in your charming language. I liſtened through curioſity to the diſcourſe of theſe little creatures; but as they, in their natural vivacity, ſpoke three or four together, I could make but little of their converſation, I found, however, by ſome broken expreſſions that I heard now and then, they were diſputing warmly on the merit of two foreign muſicians, the one a *cousin*, the other a *muscheto;* in which diſpute they ſpent their time, ſeemingly as regardleſs of the ſhortneſs of life as if they had been

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ſure of living a month. Happy people, thought I, yon live certainly under a wiſe, juſt, and mild government, ſince you have no public grievances to complain of, nor any ſubject of contention, but the perfections or imperfections of foreign muſic. I turned my head from them to an old grey-headed one who was ſingle on another leaf, and talking to himſelf. Being amuſed with his ſoliloquy, I put it down in writing, in hopes it will likewiſe amuſe her to whom I am ſo much indebted for the moſt pleaſing of all amuſements, her delicious company, and heavenly harmony.

"It was," ſays he, "the opinion of learned philoſophers of our race, who lived and flouriſhed long before my time, that this vaſt world the *Moulin Joly* could not itſelf ſubſiſt more than eighteen hours; and I think there was ſome foundation for that opinion; ſince, by the apparent motion of the great luminary, that gives life to all nature, and which in my time has evidently declined conſiderably towards the ocean at the end of our earth, it muſt then finiſh its courſe, be extinguiſhed in the waters that ſurround us, and leave the world in cold and darkneſs, neceſſarily producing univerſal death and deſtruction. I have lived ſeven of thoſe hours; a great age, being no leſs than 420 minutes of time. How very few of us continue ſo long! I have ſeen generations born, flouriſh and expire. My preſent friends are the children and grandchildren of the friends of my youth, who are now, alas, no more! And I muſt ſoon follow them; for, by the courſe of nature, though ſtill in health, I cannot expect to live above ſeven or eight minutes longer. What now avails all my toil and labour, in amaſſing honey-due on this leaf, which I cannot live to enjoy! What the political ſtruggles I have been engaged in, for the good of my compatriot inhabitants of this buſh, or my philoſophical ſtudies, for the benefit of our race in general! for in politics (what can laws do without morals?) our preſent race of ephemeræ will in a courſe of minutes became corrupt, like thoſe of other and older buſhes, and conſequently as wretched: And in philoſophy

philoſophy how ſmall our progreſs! Alas! art is long and life is ſhort! My friends would comfort me with the idea of a name, they ſay, I ſhall leave behind me; and they tell me I have lived long enough to nature and to glory. But what will fame be to an ephemeræ who no longer exiſts? and what will become of all hiſtory in the eighteenth hour, when the world itſelf, even the whole *Moulin Joly*, ſhall come to its end, and be buried in univerſal ruin?"——

To me, after all by eager purſuits, no ſolid pleaſures now remain, but the reflection of a long life ſpent in meaning well, the ſenſible converſation of a few good lady ephemeræ, and now and then a kind ſmile and a tune from the ever amiable Brilliant.

B. FRANKLIN.

MORALS OF CHESS.

PLAYING at cheſs is the moſt ancient and moſt univerſal game known among men; for its original is beyond the memory of hiſtory, and it has, for numberleſs ages, been the amuſement of all the civilized nations of Aſia, the Perſians, the Indians, and the Chineſe. Europe has had it above a thouſand years; the Spaniards have ſpread it over their part of America, and it begins lately to make its appearance in theſe ſtates. It is ſo intereſting in itſelf, as not to need the view of gain to induce engaging in it; and thence it is never played for money. Thoſe, therefore, who have leiſure for ſuch diverſions, cannot find one that is more innocent; and the following piece, written with a view to correct (among a few young friends) ſome little improprieties in the practice of it, ſhews, at the ſame time, that it may, in its effects on the mind, be not

not merely innocent, but advantageous, to the vanquished as well as the victor.

The game of chess is not merely an idle amusement. Several valuable qualities of the mind, useful in the course of human life, are to be acquired or strengthened by it, so as to become habits, ready on all occasions. For life is a kind of chess, in which we have often points to gain, and competitors or adversaries to contend with, and in which there is a vast variety of good and ill events, that are in some degree, the effects of prudence or the want of it. By playing at chess, then, we may learn,

I. *Foresight*, which looks a little into futurity, and considers the consequences that may attend an action; for it is continually occuring to the player, "If I move this piece, what will be the advantage of my new situation? What use can my adversary make of it to annoy me? What other moves can I make to support it, and to defend myself from his attacks?"

II. *Circumspection*, which surveys the whole chess-board, or scene of action, the relations of the several pieces and situations, the dangers they are respectively exposed to, the several possibilities of their aiding each other, the probabilities that the adversary may take this or that move, and attack this or the other piece, and what different means can be used to avoid his stroke, or turn its consequences against him.

III. *Caution*, not to make our moves too hastily. This habit is best acquired by observing strictly the laws of the game, such as, "If you touch a piece, you "must move it somewhere; if you set it down, you "must let it stand;" and it is therefore best that these rules should be observed, as the game thereby becomes more the image of human life, and particularly of war; in which, if you have incautiously put yourself into a bad and dangerous position, you cannot obtain your enemy's leave to withdraw your troops, and place them more securely, but you must abide all the consequences of your rashness.

And,

And, laſtly, we learn by cheſs the habit of *not being discouraged by present bad appearances in the state of our affairs*, the habit of *hoping for a favourable change*, and that of *persevering in the search of resources*. The game is ſo full of events, there is ſuch a variety of turns in it, the fortune of it is ſo ſubject to ſudden viciſſitudes, and one ſo frequently, after long contemplation, diſcovers the means of extricating oneſelf from a ſuppoſed inſurmountable difficulty; that one is encouraged to continue the conteſt to the laſt, in hopes of victory by our own ſkill, or at leaſt of giving a ſtale mate, by the negligence of our adverſary. And whoever conſiders, what in cheſs he often ſees inſtances of, that particular pieces of ſucceſs are apt to produce preſumption, and its conſequent inattention, by which the loſs may be recovered, will learn not to be too much diſcouraged by the preſent ſucceſs of his adverſary, nor to deſpair of final good fortune, upon every little check he receives in the purſuit of it.

That we may therefore, be induced more frequently to chooſe this beneficial amuſement, in preference to others, which are not attended with the ſame advantages, every circumſtance which may increaſe the pleaſures of it ſhould be regarded: and every action or word that is unfair, diſreſpectful, or that in any way may give uneaſineſs, ſhould be avoided, as contrary to the immediate intention of both the players, which is to paſs the time agreeably.

Therefore, firſt, if it is agreed to play according to the ſtrict rules: then thoſe rules are to be exactly obſerved by both parties, and ſhould not be inſiſted on for one ſide, while deviated from by the other for this is not equitable.

Secondly, if it is agreed not to obſerve the rules exactly, but one party demands indulgences, he ſhould then be as willing to allow them to the other.

Thirdly, no falſe move ſhould ever be made to extricate yourſelf out of a difficulty, or to gain an advantage. There can be no pleaſure in playing with a perſon once detected in ſuch unfair practice.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, if your adverſary is long in playing, you ought not to hurry him, or expreſs any uneaſineſs at his delay. You ſhould not ſing, nor whiſtle, nor look at your watch, nor take up a book to read, nor made a tapping with your feet on the floor, or with your fingers on the table, nor do any thing that may diſturb his attention. For all theſe things diſpleaſe, and they do not ſhow your ſkill in playing, but your craftineſs or your rudeneſs.

Fifthly you ought not to endeavour to amuſe and deceive your adverſary, by pretending to have made bad moves, and ſaying that you have now loſt the game, in order to make him ſecure and careleſs, and inattentive to your ſchemes; for this is fraud and deceit, not ſkill in the game.

Sixthly, you muſt not, when you have gained a victory, uſe any triumphing or inſulting expreſſion, nor ſhow too much pleaſure; but endeavour to conſole your adverſary, and make him leſs diſſatisfied with himſelf, by every kind of civil expreſſion that may be uſed with truth, ſuch as, "You underſtand the game "better than I, but you are a little inattentive;" or "you play too faſt; "or you had the beſt of the "game, but ſomething happened to divert your thoughts, "and that turned it in my favour."

Seventhly, If you are a ſpectator while others play, obſerve the moſt perfect ſilence. For if you give advice, you offend both parties; him againſt whom you give it, becauſe it may cauſe the loſs of his game; him in whoſe favour you give it, becauſe, though it be good, and he follows it, he loſes the pleaſure he might have had, if you had permitted him to think until it had occurred to himſelf. Even after a move, or moves, you muſt not, by replacing the pieces, ſhow how it might have been placed better: for that diſpleaſes, and may occaſion diſputes and doubts about their true ſituation. All talking to the players leſſens or diverts their attention, and is therefore unpleaſing. Nor ſhould you give the leaſt hint to either party, by any kind of noiſe or motion. If you do, you are unworthy

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to be a ſpectator. If you have a mind to exerciſe or ſhow your judgment, do it in playing your own game, when you have an opportunity, not in criticiſing, or meddling with, or counſelling the play of others.

Laſtly if the game is not to be played rigorouſly, according to the rules above mentioned, then moderate your deſire of victory over your adverſary, and be pleaſed with one over yourſelf. Snatch not eagerly at every advantage offered by his unſkilfulneſs or inattention; but point out to him kindly, that by ſuch a move he places or leaves a piece in danger and unſupported; that by another he will put his king in a perilous ſituation, &c. By this generous civility (ſo oppoſite to the unfairneſs above forbidden) you may, indeed, happen to loſe the game to your opponent, but you will win what is better, his eſteem, his, reſpect, and his affection; together with the ſilent approbation and good-will of impartial ſpectators.

THE

ART OF PROCURING PLEASANT DREAMS.

INSCRIBED TO MISS***,

Being written at her request.

AS a great part of our life is ſpent in ſleep, during which we have ſometimes pleaſing and ſometimes painful dreams, it becomes of ſome conſequence to obtain the one kind and avoid the other; for, whether real or imaginary, pain is pain, and pleaſure is pleaſure. If we can ſleep without dreaming, it is well that

painful dreams are avoided. If, while we ſleep, we can have any pleaſing dreams, it is as the French ſay, *tant gagné*, ſo much added to the pleaſure of life.

To this end it is, in the firſt place, neceſſary to be careful in preſerving health, by due exerciſe, and great temperance; for, in ſickneſs, the imagination is diſturbed; and diſagreeable ſometimes terrible ideas are apt to preſent themſelves. Exerciſe ſhould precede meals, not immediately follow them; the firſt promotes the latter, unleſs moderate, obſtructs digeſtion. If, after exerciſe, we feed ſparingly, the digeſtion will be eaſy and good, the body lightſome, the temper cheerful, and all the animal functions performed agreeably, Sleep, when it follows, will be natural and undiſturbed. While indolence, with full feeding, occaſion nightmares and horrors inexpreſſible: we fall from precipices, are aſſaulted by wild beaſts, murderers and demons, and experience every variety of diſtreſs. Obſerve, however that the quantities of food and exerciſe are relative things: thoſe who move much may, and indeed ought to eat more; thoſe who uſe little exerciſe, ſhould eat little. In general, mankind, ſince the improvement of cookery, eat about twice as much as nature requires. Suppers are not bad, if we have not dined; but reſtleſs nights naturally follow hearty ſuppers, after full dinners. Indeed as there is a difference in conſtitutions, ſome reſt well after theſe meals; it coſts them only a frightful dream, and an apoplexy, after which they ſleep till doomſday. Nothing is more common in the newſpapers, than inſtances of people, who, after eating a hearty ſupper, are found dead abed in the morning.

Another means of preſerving health, to be attended to, is the having a conſtant ſupply of freſh air in your bed-chamber. It has been a great miſtake, the ſleeping in rooms exactly cloſed, and in beds ſurrounded by curtains. No outward air, that may come unto you, is ſo unwholeſome as the unchanged air, often breathed, of a cloſe chamber. As boiling water does not grow hotter by longer boiling, if the particles that

receives

receives greater heat can escape; so living bodies do not putrify, if the particles as fast as they become putrid, can be thrown off. Nature expels them by the pores of the skin and lungs, and in a free open air, they are carried off; but in a close room, we receive them again and again, though they become more and more corrupt. A number of persons crowded into a small room, thus spoil the air in a few minutes, and even render it mortal, as in the Black Hole at Calcutta. A single person is said to spoil only a gallon of air per minute, and therefore requires a longer time to spoil a chamber full; but it is done, however, in proportion, and many putrid disorders hence have their origin. It is recorded of Methusalem, who being the longest liver, may be supposed to have best preserved his health, that he slept always in the open air; for, when he had lived five hundred years, an angel said to him: "Arise, Methusalem; and build "thee an house, for thou shalt live yet five hundred "years longer." But Methusalem answered and said: "If I am to live but five hundred years longer, it is "not worth while to build me an house— I will sleep "in the air as I have been used to do." Physicians, after having for ages contended that the sick should not be indulged with fresh air, have at length discovered that it may do them good. It is therefore to be hoped that they may in time discover likewise that it is not hurtful to those who are in health; and that we may be then cured of the *aerophobia* that at present distresses weak minds, and make them choose to be stifled and poisoned, rather than leave open the windows of a bed-chamber, or put down the glass of a coach.

Confined air, when saturated with perspirable matter,* will not receive more; and that matter must remain

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* *What physicians call the perspirable matter, is that vapour which passes off from our bodies, from the lungs, and through the pores of the skin. The quantity of this is said to be five eighths of what we eat.*

main in our bodies, and occaſion diſeaſes: but it gives ſome previous notice of its being about to be hurtful, by producing certain uneaſineſſes, ſlight indeed at firſt, ſuch as, with regard to the lungs, is a trifling ſenſation, and to the pores of the ſkin a kind of reſtleſſneſs which is difficult to deſcribe, and few that feel it know the cauſe of it. But we may recollect, that ſometimes, on waking in the night, we have, if warmly covered, found it difficult to get aſleep again. We turn often without finding repoſe in any poſition. This ſiggettineſs, to uſe a vulgar expreſſion for want of a better, is occaſioned wholly by an uneaſineſs in the ſkin, owing to the retention of the perſpirable matter——the bed clothes having received their quantity, and, being ſaturated, refuſing to take any more. To become ſenſible of this by an experiment, let a perſon keep his poſition in the bed, but throw off the bed-clothes and ſuffer freſh air to approach the part uncovered of his body; he will then feel that part ſuddenly refreſhed; for the air will immediately relieve the ſkin, by receiving, licking up, and carrying off, the load of perſpirable matter that incommoded it. For every portion of cool air that approaches the warm ſkin, in receiving its part of that vapour, receives, therewith a degree of heat, that rarefies and renders it lighter, when it will be puſhed away, with its burthen, by cooler, and therefore heavier freſh air; which, for a moment ſupplies its place, and then, being likewiſe changed, and warmed, gives way to a ſucceeding quantity. This is the order of nature, to prevent animals being infected by their own perſpiration. He will now be ſenſible of the difference between the part expoſed to the air, and that which remaining ſunk in the bed, denies the air acceſs: for this part now manifeſts, its uneaſineſs more diſtinctly by the compariſon, and the ſeat of the uneaſineſs is more plainly perceived, than when the whole furnace of the body was affected by it.

Here, then, is one great and general cauſe of unpleaſing dreams. For when the body is uneaſy, the mind will be diſturbed by it, and diſagreeable ideas of various

various kinds, will, in ſleep, be the natural conſequences. The remedies, preventative and curative, follow:

1. By eating moderately, (as before adviſed for health's ſake) leſs perſpirable matter is produced in a given time; hence the bed-clothes receive it longer before they are ſaturated; and we may, therefore, ſleep longer, before we are made uneaſy by their refuſing to receive any more.

2. By uſing thinner and more porous bed-clothes, which will ſuffer the perſpirable matter more eaſily to paſs through them, we are leſs incommoded, ſuch being longer tolerable.

3. When you are awakened by this uneaſineſs, and find you cannot eaſily ſleep again, get out of bed, beat up and turn your pillow, ſhake the bed-clothes well, with at leaſt twenty ſhakes, then throw the bed open, and leave it to cool; in the mean while, continuing undreſt, walk about your chamber, till your ſkin has had time to diſcharge its load, which it will do ſooner as the air may be drier and colder. When you begin to feel the cold air unpleaſant, then return to your bed; and you will ſoon fall aſleep, and your ſleep will be ſweet and pleaſant. All the ſcenes preſented to your fancy, will be of the pleaſant kind. I am often as agreeably entertained with them, as by the ſcenery of an opera. If you happen to be too indolent to get out of bed, you may, inſtead of it, lift up your bed-clothes with one arm and leg, ſo as to draw in a good deal of freſh air, and, by letting them fall, force it out again. This, repeated twenty times, will ſo clear them of the perſpirable matter they have imbibed, as to permit your ſleeping well for ſome time afterwards. But this latter method is not equal to the former.

Thoſe who do not love trouble, and can afford to have two beds, will find great luxury in riſing, when they wake in a hot bed, and going into the cool one. Such ſhiftings of beds would alſo be of great ſervice to perſons ill in a fever, as it refreſhes and frequently procures ſleep. A very large bed, that will admit a removal

removal so distant from the first situation as to be cool and sweet, may in a degree answer the same end.

One or two observations more will conclude this little piece. Care must be taken, when you lie down, to dispose your pillow so as to suit your manner of placing your head, and to be perfectly easy; then place your limbs so as not to bear inconveniently hard upon one another, as for instance, the joints of your ancles: for though a bad position may at first give but little pain, and be hardly noticed, yet a continuance will render it less tolerable, and the uneasiness may come on while you are asleep and disturb your imagination.

These are the rules of the art. But though they will generally prove effectual in producing the end intended, there is a case in which the most punctual observance of them will be totally fruitless. I need not mention the case to you, my dear friend: but my account of the art would be imperfect without it. The case is, when the person who desires to have pleasant dreams has not taken care to preserve, what is necessary above all things,

A GOOD CONSCIENCE.

ADVICE TO A YOUNG TRADESMAN.

WRITTEN ANNO 1784.

To my Friend A. B.

As you have desired it of me, I write the following hints, which have been of service to me, and may, if observed be so to you.

REMEMBER that *time* is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labour, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon *that* the only expence; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides.

Remember that *credit* is money. If a man lets his money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives me the interest, or so much as I can make of it during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum where a man has good and large credit, and makes good use of it.

Remember that money is of a prolific generating nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Five shillings turned is six; turned again, it is seven and three pence; and so on till it becomes an hundred pounds. The more there is of it, the more it produces every turning, so that the profits rise quicker and quicker. He that kills a breeding sow, destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation. He that murders a crown, destroys all that it might have produced, even scores of pounds.

Remember

Remember that six pounds a year, is but a groat a day. For this little sum, which may be daily wasted either in time or expence, unperceived, a man of credit may, on his own security, have the constant possession and use of an hundred pounds. So much in stock, briskly turned by an industrious man, produces great advantages.

Remember this saying, "The good paymaster is lord of another man's purse." He that is known to pay punctually and exactly to the time he promises, may at any time, and on any occasion, raise all the money his friends can spare. This is sometimes of great use. After industry and frugality, nothing contributes more to the raising of a young man in the world, than punctuality and justice in all his dealings: therefore never keep borrowed money an hour beyond the time you promised, lest a disappointment shut up your friend's purse for ever.

The most trifling actions that affects a man's credit are to be regarded. The sound of your hammer at five in the morning, or nine at night, heard by a creditor, makes him easy six months longer; but if he sees you at a billiard table, or hears your voice at a tavern, when you should be at work, he sends for his money the next day; demands it before he can receive it in a lump.

It shews, besides, that you are mindful of what you owe; it makes you appear a careful, as well as an honest man, and that still increases your credit.

Beware of thinking all your own that you possess, and of living accordingly. It is a mistake that many people who have credit fall into. To prevent this keep an exact account, for some time, both of your expences and your income. If you take the pains at first to mention particulars, it will have this good effect; you will discover how wonderfully small trifling expences mount up to large sums, and will discern what might have been, and may for the future be saved, without occasioning any great inconvenience.

In

In short, the way to wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the way to market. It depends chiefly on two words, *industry* and *frugality*; that is, waste neither *time* nor *money*, but make the best use of both. Without industry and frugality nothing will do, and with them every thing. He that gets all he can honestly, and saves all he gets, (necessary expences excepted) will certainly become *rich*—if that Being who governs the world, to whom all should look for a blessing on their honest endeavours, doth not, in his wise Providence, otherwise determine.

AN OLD TRADESMAN.

NECESSARY HINTS TO THOSE THAT WOULD BE RICH.

WRITTEN ANNO 1756.

THE use of money is all the advantage there is in having money.

For six pounds a year you may have the use of one hundred pounds, provided you are a man of known prudence and honesty.

He that spends a groat a day idly, spends idly above six pounds a year, which is the price for the use of one hundred pounds.

He that wastes idly a groat's worth of his time, per day, one day with another, wastes the privilege of using one hundred pounds each day.

He that idly loses five shillings worth of time, loses five shillings, and might as prudently throw five shillings into the sea.

He that loſes five ſhillings, not only loſes that ſum, but all the advantage that might be made by turning it in dealing, which, by the time that a young man becomes old, will amount to a conſiderable ſum of money.

Again: he that ſells upon credit, aſks a price for what he ſells equivalent to the principal and intereſt of his money for the time he is to be kept out of it; therefore, he that buys upon credit, pays intereſt for what he buys; and he that pays ready money, might let that money out to uſe: ſo that he that poſſeſſes any thing he has bought, pays intereſt for the uſe of it.

Yet, in buying goods, it is beſt to pay ready money, becauſe, he that ſells upon credit, expects to loſe five per cent. by bad debts; therefore he charges, on all he ſells upon credit, an advance that ſhall make up that deficiency.

Thoſe who pay for what they buy upon credit pay their ſhare of this advance.

He that pays ready money, eſcapes, or may eſcape, that charge.

A penny sav'd is two-pence clear;
A pin a day 's a groat a year.

THE WAY TO MAKE MONEY PLENTY IN EVERY MAN's POCKET.

AT this time, when the general complaint is that —"money is ſcarce," it will be an act of kindneſs to inform the moneyleſs how they may reinforce their pockets. I will acquaint them with the true ſecret of money-catching—the certain way to fill empty purſes —and how to keep them always full. Two ſimple rules, well obſerved, will do the buſineſs.

Firſt,

First, let honeſty and induſtry be thy conſtant companions; and,

Secondly, ſpend one penny leſs than thy clear gain.

Then ſhall they hide-bound pocket ſoon begin to thrive, and will never again cry with the empty belly-ach; neither will creditors inſult thee, nor want oppreſs, nor hunger bite, nor nakedneſs freeze thee. The whole hemiſphere will ſhine brighter, and pleaſure ſpring up in every corner of thy heart. Now, therefore, embrace theſe rules and be happy. Baniſh the bleak winds of ſorrow from thy mind, and live independent. Then ſhalt thou be a man, and not hide thy face at the approach of the rich, nor ſuffer the pain of feeling little when the ſons of fortune walk at thy right hand: for independency, whether with little or much, is good fortune, and placeth thee on even ground with the proudeſt of the golden fleece. Oh then, be wiſe, and let induſtry walk with thee in the morning, and attend thee untill thou reacheſt the evening hour for reſt. Let honeſty be as the breath of thy ſoul, and never forget to have a penny, when all thy expences are enumerated and paid: then ſhalt thou reach the point of happineſs, and independence ſhall be thy ſhield and buckler, thy helmet and crown; then ſhall thy ſoul walk upright, nor ſtoop to the ſilken wretch becauſe he hath riches, nor pocket an abuſe becauſe the hand which offers it wears a ring ſet with diamonds.

AN ECONOMICAL PROJECT.

[*A Translation of this letter appeared in one of the Daily Papers of Paris, about the Year* 1784. *The following is the Original Piece, with some Additions and Corrections made in it by the Author.*]

To the AUTHORS *of the* JOURNAL.

MESSIEURS,

YOU often entertain us with accounts of new diſcoveries. Permit me to communicate to the public, through your paper, one that has lately been made by myſelf, and which I conceive may be of great utility.

I was the other evening in a grand company, where the new lamp of Meſſrs. Quinquet and Lange was introduced, and much admired for its ſplendor; but a general enquiry was made, whether the oil it conſumed, was not in proportion to the light it afforded, in which caſe there would be no ſaving in the uſe of it. No one preſent could ſatisfy us in that point, which all agreed ought to be known, it being a very deſirable thing to leſſen, if poſſible, the expence of lighting our apartments, when every other article of family expence was ſo much augmented.

I was pleaſed to ſee this general concern for œconomy; for I love œconomy exceedingly.

I went home, and to bed, three or four hours after midnight, with my head full of the ſubject. An accidental ſudden noiſe waked me about ſix in the morning,

ing, when I was surprised to find my room filled with light; and I imagined at first, that a number of those lamps had been brought into it: but, rubbing my eyes, I perceived the light came in at the windows. I got up and looked out to see what might be the occasion of it, when I saw the sun just rising above the horizon, from whence he poured his rays plentifully into my chamber; my domestic having negligently omitted the preceding evening to close the shutters.

I looked at my watch, which goes very well, and found that it was but six o'clock; and still thinking it something extraordinary that the sun should rise so early, I looked into the almanack; where I found it to be the hour given for his rising on that day. I looked forward too, and found he was to rise still earlier every day till towards the end of June; and that at no time in the year he retarded his rising so long as till eight o'clock. Your readers, who with me have never seen any signs of sunshine before noon, and seldom regard the astronomical part of the almanack, will be as much astonished as I was, when they hear of his rising so early; and especially when I assure them, *that he gives light as soon as he rises.* I am convinced of this. I am certain of the fact. One cannot be more certain of any fact. I saw it with my own eyes. And having repeated this observation the three following mornings, I found always precisely the same result.

Yet so it happens, that when I speak of this discovery to others, I can easily perceive by their countenances, though they forbear expressing it in words, that they do not quite believe me. One, indeed, who is a learned natural philosopher, has assured me, that I must certainly be mistaken as to the circumstance of the light coming into my room: for it being well known, as he says, that there could be no light abroad at that hour, it follows that none could enter from without: and that of consequence, my windows being accidentally left open, instead of letting in the light, had only served to let out the darkness: and he used many

many ingenious arguments to shew me how I might, by that means, have been deceived. I own that he puzzled me a little, but he did not satisfy me; and the subsequent observations I made, as above mentioned, confirmed me in my first opinion.

This event has given rise, in my mind, to several serious and important reflections. I considered that, if I had not been awakened so early in the morning, I should have slept six hours longer by the light of the sun, and in exchange have lived six hours the following night by candle-light; and the latter being a much more expensive light than the former, my love of œconomy induced me to muster up what little arithmetic I was master of, and to make some calculations, which I shall give you, after observing, that utility is, in my opinion, the test of value in matters of invention, and that a discovery which can be applied to no use, or is not good for something, is good for nothing.

I took for the basis of my calculation the supposition that there are 100,000 families in Paris, and that these families consume in the night half a pound of bougies, or candles per hour. I think this is a moderate allowance, taking one family with another; for though I believe some consume less, I know that many consume a great deal more. Then estimating seven hours per day, as the medium quantity between the time of the sun's rising and ours, he rising during the six following months from six to eight hours before noon, and there being seven hours of course per night in which we burn candles, the account will stand thus—

In the six months between the twentieth of March and the twentieth of September, there are

Nights - - - - - - -	183
Hours of each night in which we burn candles - - - - -	7
Multiplication gives for the total number of hours - - -	1,281

These

Theſe 1,281 hours multiplied by 100,000 the number of inhabitants, give -	128,100,000
One hundred twenty-eight millions and one hundred thouſand hours, ſpent at Paris by candle-light, which, at half a pound of wax and tallow per hour, gives the weight of - -	64,050,000
Sixty-four millions and fifty thouſand of pounds, which, eſtimating the whole at the medium price of thirty ſols the pound, makes the ſum of ninety-ſix millions and ſeventy-five thouſand livres tournois - -	96,075,000

An immenſe ſum! that the city of Paris might ſave every year, by the œconomy of uſing ſunſhine inſtead of candles.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that the people are apt to be obſtinately attached to old cuſtoms, and that it will be difficult to induce them to riſe before noon, conſequently my diſcovery can be of little uſe; I anſwer, *Nil desperandum*. I believe all who have common ſenſe, as ſoon as they have learnt from this paper that it is day-light when the ſun riſes, will contrive to riſe with him; and, to compel the reſt, I would propoſe the following regulations:

Firſt. Let a tax be laid of a louis per window, on every window that is provided with ſhutters to keep out the light of the ſun.

Second. Let the ſame ſalutary operation of police be made uſe of to prevent our burning candles, that inclined us laſt winter to be more œconomical in burning wood; that is, let guards be placed in the ſhops of the wax and tallow-chandlers, and no family be permitted to be ſupplied with more than one pound of candles per week.

Third. Let guards be poſted to ſtop all the coaches, &c. that would paſs the ſtreets after ſunſet, except thoſe of phyſicians, ſurgeons and midwives.

Fourth

Fourth. Every morning as soon as the sun rises, let all the bells in every church be set ringing; and if that is not sufficient, let cannon be fired in every street, and wake the sluggards effectually, and make them open their eyes to see their true interest.

All the difficulty will be in the first two or three days; after which the reformation will be as natural and easy as the present irregularity: for, *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*. Oblige a man to rise at four in the morning, and it is more than probable he shall go willingly to bed at eight in the evening; and, having had eight hours sleep, he will rise more willingly at four the morning following. But this sum of ninety-six millions and seventy-five thousand livres is not the whole of what may be saved by my œconomical project. You may observe, that I have calculated upon only one half the year, and much may be saved in the other, though the days are shorter. Besides, the immense stock of wax and tallow left unconsumed during the summer, will probably make candles much cheaper for the ensuing winter, and continue cheaper as long as the proposed reformation shall be supported.

For the great benefit of this discovery, thus freely communicated and bestowed by me on the public, I demand neither place, pension, exclusive privilege, nor any other reward whatever. I expect only to have the honour of it. And yet I know there are little envious minds who will, as usual, deny me this, and say that my invention was known to the ancients, and perhaps they may bring passages out of the old books in proof of it. I will not dispute with these people that the ancients knew not the sun would rise at certain hours; they possibly had, as we have, almanacks that predicted it: but it does not follow from thence that they knew *he gave light as soon as he rose*. This is what I claim as my discovery. If the ancients knew it, it must long since have been forgotten, for it certainly was unknown to the moderns, at least to the Parisians; which to prove I need use but one plain simple argument. They are as well instructed, judicious,

ous, and prudent a people as exiſt any where in the world, all profeſſing, like myſelf, to be lovers of œconomy; and, from the many heavy taxes required from them by the neceſſities of the ſtate, have ſurely reaſon to be œconomical. I ſay it is impoſſible that ſo ſenſible a people, under ſuch circumſtances, ſhould have lived ſo long by the ſmoky, unwholeſome, and enormouſly expenſive light of candles, if they had really known that they might have had as much pure light of the ſun for nothing.

I am, &c.

AN ABONNE.

ON MODERN INNOVATIONS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, AND IN PRINTING.

To NOAH WEBSTER, *jun. Esq. at* HARTFORD.

Philadelphia, Dec. 26, 1789.

Dear Sir,

I RECEIVED, ſome time ſince, your *Diſſertations on the Engliſh Language*. It is an excellent work, and will be greatly uſeful in turning the thoughts of our countrymen to correct writing. Pleaſe to accept my thanks for it, as well as for the great honour you have done me in its dedication. I ought to have made this acknowledgment ſooner, but much indiſpoſition prevented me.

I cannot but applaud your zeal for preſerving the purity of our language both in its expreſſion and pronunciation,

nunciation, and in correcting the popular errors several of our ſtates are continually falling into with reſpect to both. Give me leave to mention ſome of them though poſſibly they may already have occurred to you. I wiſh, however, that in ſome future publication of yours you would ſet a diſcountenancing mark upon them. The firſt I remember, is the word *improved*. When I left New-England in the year 1723, this word had never been uſed among us, as far as I know, but in the ſenſe of *ameliorated*, or *made better* except once in a very old book of Dr. Mathers, entitled, *Remarkable Providences*. As that man wrote a very obſcure hand, I remember that when I read that word in his book, uſed inſtead of the word *employed*, I conjectured that it was an error of the printer, who had miſtaken a ſhort *l* in the writing for an *r* and a *y* with too ſhort a tail for a *v*, whereby *employed* was converted into *improved*: but when I returned to Boſton in 1733, I found this change had obtained favour, and was then become common; for I met with it often in peruſing the newſpapers, where it frequently made an appearance rather ridiculous. Such, for inſtance, as the advertiſement of a country houſe to be ſold, which had been many years *improved* as a tavern; and in the character of a deceaſed country gentleman, that he had been, for more than thirty years, *improved* as juſtice of the peace. This uſe of the word *improve* is peculiar to New England, and not to be met with among any other ſpeakers of Engliſh, either on this or the other ſide of the water.

During my late abſence in France, I find that ſeveral other new words have been introduced into our parliamentary language. For example, I find a verb formed from the ſubſtantive *notice*. *I ſhould not have* noticed *this, were it not that the gentleman*, &c. Alſo another verb from the ſubſtantive *advocate*; *The gentleman who* advocates, *or who has* advocated *that motion*, &c. Another from the ſubſtantive *progreſs*, the moſt awkward and abominable of the three: *The committee having* progreſſed, *reſolved to adjourn*. The word

word *opposed*, though not a new word, I find used in a new manner, as, *The gentlemen who are* opposed *to this measure, to which I have also myself always been* opposed. If you should happen to be of my opinion with respect to these innovations, you will use your authority in reprobating them.

The Latin language, long the vehicle used in distributing knowledge among the different nations of Europe, is daily more and more neglected; and one of the modern tongues, viz. French, seems in point of universality, to have supplied its place. It is spoken in all the courts of Europe; and most of the literati, those even who do not speak it, have acquired knowledge of it, to enable them easily to read the books that are written in it. This gives a considerable advantage to that nation. It enables its authors to inculcate and spread through other nations, such sentiments and opinions, on important points, as are most conducive to its interests, or which may contribute to its reputation, by promoting the common interests of mankind. It is, perhaps, owing to its being written in French, that Voltaire's Treatise on Toleration has had so sudden and so great an effect on the bigotry of Europe, as almost entirely to disarm it. The general use of the French language has likewise a very advantageous effect on the profits of the bookselling branch of commerce, it being well known, that the more copies can be sold that are struck off from one composition of types, the profits increase in a much greater proportion than they do in making a greater number of pieces in any other kind of manufacture. And at present there is no capital town in Europe without a French bookseller's shop corresponding with Paris. Our English bids fair to obtain the second place. The great body of excellent printed sermons in our language, and the freedom of our writings on political subjects, have induced a great number of divines of different sects and nations, as well as gentlemen concerned in public affairs to study it, so far at least as to read it. And if we were to endeavor

endeavour the facilitating its progreſs, the ſtudy of our tongue might become much more general. Thoſe who have employed ſome part of their time in learning a new language, muſt have frequently obſerved, that while their acquaintance with it was imperfect, difficulties, ſmall in themſelves, operated as great ones in obſtructing their progreſs. A book, for example, ill printed, or a pronunciation in ſpeaking not well articulated, would render a ſentence unintelligible, which from a clear print, or a diſtinct ſpeaker, would have been immediately comprehended. If, therefore, we would have the benefit of ſeeing our language more generally known among mankind, we ſhould endeavour to remove all the difficulties, however ſmall, that diſcourage the learning of it. But I am ſorry to obſerve, that of late yeats, thoſe difficulties, inſtead of being diminiſhed, have been augmented.

In examining the Engliſh books that were printed between the reſtoration and the acceſſion of George the Second, we may obſerve, that all ſubſtances were begun with a capital, in which we imitated our mother tongue, the German. This was more particularly uſeful to thoſe who were not well acquainted with the Engliſh, there being ſuch a prodigious number of our words that are both verbs and ſubſtantives, and ſpelt in the ſame manner, though often accented differently in pronunciation. This method has, by the fancy of printers, of late years, been entirely laid aſide; from an idea, that ſuppreſſing the capitals ſhews the character to greater advantage; thoſe letters, prominent above the line, diſturbing its even, regular appearance. The effect of this change is ſo conſiderable, that a learned man in France, who uſed to read our books, though not perfectly acquainted with our language, in converſation with me on the ſubject of our authors, attributed the greater obſcurity he found in our modern books, compared with thoſe written in the period above mentioned, to change of ſtyle for the worſe in our writers; of which miſtake I convinced him, by marking for him each ſubſtantive with a capital, in a paragraph

paragraph, which he then eaſily underſtood, though before he could not comprehend it. This ſhews the inconvenience of that pretended improvement.

From the ſame fondneſs for an uniform and even appearance of characters in the line, the printers have of late alſo baniſhed the italic types, in which words of importance to be attended to in the ſenſe of the ſentence, and words on which an emphaſis ſhould be put in reading, uſed to be printed. And lately another fancy has induced other printers to uſe the round *s* inſtead of the long one, which formerly ſerved well to diſtinguiſh a word readily by its varied appearance. Certainly the omitting this prominent letter makes a line appear more even, but it renders it leſs immediately legible; as the paring of all men's noſes might ſmooth and level their faces, but would render their phyſiognomies leſs diſtinguiſhable. Add to all theſe improvements backwards, another modern fancy, that *grey* printing is more beautiful than black. Hence the Engliſh new books are printed in ſo dim a character, as to be read with difficulty by old eyes, unleſs in a very ſtrong light, and with good glaſſes. Whoever compares a volume of the Gentleman's Magazine, printed between the years 1731 and 1740, with one of thoſe printed in the laſt ten years, will be convinced of the much greater degree of perſpicuity given by black than by the grey. Lord Cheſterfield pleaſantly remarked this difference to Faulkener, the printer of the Dublin Journal, who was vainly making encomiums on his own paper, as the moſt complete of any in the world. "But Mr. Faulkener," ſays my lord, "don't you think it might be ſtill farther improved, by uſing paper and ink not quite ſo near of a colour."—For all theſe reaſons I cannot but wiſh that our American printers would, in their editions, avoid theſe fancied improvements, and thereby render their works more agreeable to foreigners in Europe, to the great advantage of our bookſelling commerce.

Farther,

Farther, to be more ſenſible of the advantage of clear and diſtinct printing, let us conſider the aſſiſtance it affords in reading well aloud to an auditory. In ſo doing the eye generally ſlides forward three or four words before the voice. If the ſight clearly diſtinguiſhes what the coming words are, it gives time to alter the modulation of the voice, to expreſs them properly. But if they are obſcurely printed, or diſguſted by omitting the capitals and long ſ's, or otherwiſe, the reader is apt to modulate wrong, and finding he has done ſo, he is obliged to go back and begin the ſentence again; which leſſens the pleaſure of the hearers. This leads me to mention an old error in our mode of printing. We are ſenſible that when a queſtion is met with in the reading, there is a proper variation to be uſed in the management of the voice. We have, therefore, a point, called an interrogation, affixed to the queſtion, in order to diſtinguiſh it. But this is abſurdly placed at its end, ſo that the reader does not diſcover it till he finds that he has wrongly modulated his voice, and is therefore obliged to begin again the ſentence. To prevent this, the Spaniſh printers, more ſenſibly, place an interrogation at the beginning as well as at the end of the queſtion. We have another error of the ſame kind in printing plays, where ſomething often occurs that is marked as ſpoken *aside*.—But the word *aside* is placed at the end of the ſpeech, when it ought to precede it, as a direction to the reader, that he may govern his voice accordingly. The practice of our ladies in meeting five or ſix together, to form little buſy parties, where each is employed in ſome uſeful work, while one reads to them, is ſo commendable in itſelf, that it deſerves the attention of authors and printers to make it as pleaſing as poſſible, both to the readers and hearers.

My beſt wiſhes attend you, being, with ſincere eſteem,

Sir, your moſt obedient and
very humble ſervant,
B. FRANKLIN.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HIGHEST COURT OF JUDICATURE IN PENNSYLVANIA, VIZ.

THE COURT OF THE PRESS.

Power of this Court.

IT may receive and promulgate accusations of all kinds, against all persons and characters among the citizens of the state, and even against all inferior courts; and may judge, sentence, and condemn to infamy, not only private individuals, but public bodies, &c. with or without enquiry or hearing, at the court's discretion.

Whose favour, or for whose emolument this court is established.

In favour of about one citizen in five hundred, who, by education, or practice in scribbling, has acquired a tolerable style as to grammar and construction, so as to bear printing; or who is possessed of a press and a few types. This five hundredth part of the citizens have the privilege of accusing and abusing the other four hundred and ninety-nine parts at their pleasure; or they may hire out their pens and press to others, for that purpose.

Practice of this Court.

It is not governed by any of the rules of the common courts of law. The accused is allowed no grand jury

jury to judge of the truth of the accuſation before it is publicly made; nor is the mean of the accuſer made known to him; nor has he an opportunity of confronting the witneſſes againſt him, for they are kept in the dark, as in the Spaniſh court of inquiſition. Nor is there any petty jury of his peers ſworn to try the truth of the charges. The proceedings are alſo ſometimes ſo rapid, that an honeſt good citizen may find himſelf ſuddenly and unexpectedly accuſed, and in the ſame morning judged and condemned, and ſentence pronounced againſt him that he is a rogue and a villain. Yet if an officer of this court receives the ſlighteſt check for miſconduct in this his office, he claims immediately the rights of a free citizen by the conſtitution, and demands to know his accuſer, to confront the witneſſes, and to have a fair trial by a jury of his peers.

The foundation of its authority.

It is ſaid to be founded on an article in the ſtate conſtitution, which eſtabliſhes the liberty of the preſs —a liberty which every Pennſylvanian would fight and die for, though few of us, I believe, have diſtinct ideas of its nature and extent. It ſeems, indeed, ſomewhat like the liberty of the preſs, that felons have, by the common law of England before conviction; that is, to be either preſſed to death or hanged. If, by the liberty of the preſs, were underſtood merely the liberty of diſcuſſing the propriety of public meaſures and political opinions, let us have as much of it as you pleaſe; but if it means the liberty of affronting, calumniating, and defaming one another, I, for my part, own myſelf willing to part with my ſhare of it, whenever our legiſlators ſhall pleaſe to alter the law: and ſhall cheerfully conſent to exchange my liberty of abuſing others, for the privilege of not being abuſed myſelf.

By

By whom this court is commissioned or constituted.

It has not any commiſſion from the ſupreme executive council, who might previouſly judge of the abilities, integrity, knowledge, &c. of the perſons to be appointed to this great truſt of deciding upon the characters and good fame of the citizens: for this court is above that council, and may accuſe, judge, and condemn it at pleaſure. Nor is it hereditary, as is the court of dernier reſort in the peerage of England. But any man who can procure pen, ink, and paper, with a preſs, a few types, and a huge pair of blacking balls, may commiſſionate himſelf, and his court is immediately eſtabliſhed in the plenary poſſeſſion and exerciſe of its rights. For if you make the leaſt complaint of the judge's conduct, he daubs his blacking balls in your face wherever he meets you, and beſides tearing your private character to ſplinters, marks you out for the odium of the public, as an enemy to the liberty of the preſs.

Of the natural ſupport of this court.

Its ſupport is founded in the depravity of ſuch minds as have not been mended by religion, nor improved by good education.

There is a luſt in man no charm can tame,
Of loudly publiſhing his neighbour's ſhame.

Hence,

On eagles' wings, immortal, ſcandals fly,
While virtuous actions are but born and die.

DRYDEN.

Whoever feels pain in hearing a good character of his neighbour, will feel a pleaſure in the reverſe. And of thoſe who deſpairing to riſe to diſtinction by their virtues, are happy if others can be depreſſed to a level with themſelves, there are a number ſufficient in every great town to maintain one of theſe courts by their ſubſcription. A ſhrewd obſerver once ſaid, that in walking

walking the ſtreets of a ſlippery morning, one might ſee where the good-natured people lived, by the aſhes thrown on the ice before the doors: probably he would have formed a different conjecture of the temper of thoſe whom he might find engaged in ſuch ſubſcriptions.

Of the checks proper to be established against the abuses of power in those courts.

Hitherto there are none. But ſince ſo much has been written and publiſhed on the federal conſtitution; and the neceſſity of checks, in all other parts of good government, has been ſo clearly and learnedly explained, I find myſelf ſo far enlightened as to ſuſpect ſome check may be proper in this part alſo: but I have been at a loſs to imagine any that may not be conſtrued an infringment of the ſacred liberty of the preſs. At length however, I think I have found one, that, inſtead of diminiſhing general liberty, ſhall augment it; which is, by reſtoring to the people a ſpecies of liberty of which they have been deprived by our law, I mean the liberty of the cudgel! In the rude ſtate of ſociety, prior to the exiſtence of laws, if one man gave another ill language, the affronted perſon might return it by a box on the ear; and if repeated, by a good drubbing; and this without offending againſt any law: but now the right of making ſuch returns is denied, and they are puniſhed as breeches of the peace, while the right of abuſing ſeems to remain in full force; the laws made againſt it being rendered ineffectual by the liberty of the preſs.

My propoſal then is, to leave the liberty of the preſs untouched, to be exerciſed in its full extent, force, and vigour, but to permit the liberty of the cudgel to go with it, *pari passu*. Thus, my fellow citizens, if an impudent writer attacks your reputation—dearer perhaps to you than your life, and puts his name to the charge, you may go to him as openly and break his head. If he conceals himſelf behind the printer, and

you

you can nevertheleſs diſcover who he is, you may in like manner, waylay him in the night, attack him behind, and give him a good drubbing. If your adverſary hires better writers than himſelf, to abuſe you more effectually, you may hire brawny porters, ſtronger than yourſelf, to aſſiſt you in giving him a more effectual drubbing. Thus far goes my project, as to a *private* reſentment and retribution. But if the public ſhould ever happen to be affronted, as it ought to be, with the conduct of ſuch writers, I would not adviſe proceeding immediately to theſe extremities, but that we ſhould in moderation content ourſelves with tarring and feathering, and toſſing them in a blanket.

If, however, it ſhould be thought that this propoſal of mine may diſturb the public peace, I would then humbly recommend to our legiſlators to take up the conſideration of both liberties, that of the preſs, and that of the cudgel; and by an explicit law mark their extent and limits: and at the ſame time that they ſecure the perſon of a citizen from aſſaults, they would likewiſe provide for the ſecurity of his reputation.

PAPER: A POEM.

SOME wit of old—ſuch wits of old there were—
Whoſe hints ſhow'd meaning, whoſe alluſions care,
By one brave ſtroke to mark all human kind,
Call'd clear blank paper ev'ry infant mind;
When ſtill, as op'ning ſenſe her dictates wrote,
Fair virtue put a ſeal, or vice a blot.

The thought was happy, pertinent, and true;
Methinks a genius might the plan purſue,
I, (can you pardon my preſumption? I—)
No wit, no genius, yet for once will try.

Various

Various the papers various wants produce.
The wants of fashion, elegance, and use.
Men are as various: and, if right I scan,
Each sort of *paper* represents some *man*.
Pray note the fop—half powder and half lace—
Nice, as a band-box were his dwelling place;
He's the *gilt paper*, which apart you store,
And lock from vulgar hands in the 'scrutoire.
Mechanics, servants, farmers, and so forth,
Are *copy paper* of inferior worth;
Less priz'd, more useful, for your desk decreed,
Free to all pens, and prompt at ev'ry need.
The wretch whom av'rice bids to pinch and spare,
Starve, cheat, and pilfer, to enrich an heir,
Is coarse *brown paper*; such as pedlars choose
To wrap up wares, which better men will use.
Take next the miser's contrast, who destroys
Health, fame, and fortune, in a round of joys.
Will any paper match him? Yes, throughout,
H's a true *sinking paper*, past all doubt.
The retail politician's anxious thought
Deems *this* side always right, and that stark nought;
He foams with censure; with applause he raves—
A dupe to rumours, and a tool of knaves;
He'll want no type his weakness to proclaim,
While such a thing as *fools-cap* has a name.
The hasty gentleman, whose blood runs high,
Who picks a quarrel, if you step a-wry,
Who can't a jest, or hint, or look endure:
What's he? What? *Touch-paper* to be sure.
What are our poets, take them as they fall;
Good, bad, rich, poor, much read, not read at all;
Them and their works in the same class you'll find;
They are the mere *waste-paper* of mankind.
Observe the maiden, innocently sweet,
She's fair *white-paper*, and unsullied sheet;
On which the happy man whom fate ordains,
May write his *name*, and take her for his pains.

One

One inſtance more, and only one I'll bring;
'Tis the *great man* who ſcorns a little thing,
Whoſe thoughts, whoſe deeds, whoſe maxims are his own,
Form'd on the fellings of his heart alone:
True genuine *royal-paper* is his breaſt;
Of all the kinds moſt precious, pureſt, beſt.

ON THE ART OF SWIMMING.

In answer to some inquiries of M. Dubourg on the subject.*

I AM apprehenſive that I ſhall not be able to find leiſure for making all the diſquiſitions and experiments which would be deſirable on this ſubject. I muſt therefore, content myſelf with a few remarks.

The ſpecific gravity of ſome human bodies, in compariſon to that of water, has been examined by M. Robinſon, in our Philoſophical Tranſactions, volume 50, page 30, for the year 1757. He aſſerts, that fat perſons with ſmall bones float moſt eaſily upon water.

The diving bell is accurately deſcribed in our Tranſactions.

When I was a boy, I made two oval pallets, each about ten inches long, and ſix broad, with a hole for the thumb, in order to retain it faſt in the palm of my hand. They much reſemble a painter's pallets. In ſwimming I puſhed the edges of theſe forward, and I ſtruck the water with their flat ſurfaces as I drew

* *Tranſlator of Dr. Franklin's works into French.*

drew them back. I remember I ſwam faſter by means of theſe pallets, but they fatigued my wriſts.—I alſo fitted to the ſoles of my feet a kind of ſandals; but I was not ſatisfied with them, becauſe I obſerved that the ſtroke is partly given with the inſide of the feet and the ancles, and not entirely with the ſoles of the feet.

We have here waiſtcoats for ſwimming, which are made of double ſail-cloth, with ſmall pieces of cork quilted in between them.

I know nothing of the *scaphandre* of M. de la Chappelle.

I know by experience that it is a great comfort to a ſwimmer, who has a conſiderable diſtance to go, to turn himſelf ſometimes on his back, and to vary in other reſpects the means of procuring a progreſſive motion.

When he is ſeized with the cramp in the leg, the method of driving it away is to give to the parts affected a ſudden, vigorous, and violent ſhock; which he may do in the air as he ſwims on his back.

During the great heats of ſummer there is no danger in bathing, however warm we may be in rivers which have been thoroughly warmed by the ſun. But to throw oneſelf into cold ſpring water, when the body has been heated by exerciſe in the ſun, is an imprudence which may prove fatal. I once knew an inſtance of four young men, who, having worked at harveſt in the heat of the day, with a view of refreſhing themſelves plunged into a ſpring of cold water: two died upon the ſpot, a third the next morning, and the fourth recovered with great difficulty. A copious draught of cold water, in ſimilar circumſtances, is frequently attended with the ſame effect in North America.

The exerciſe of ſwimming is one of the moſt healthy and agreeable in the world. After having ſwam for an hour or two in the evening, one ſleeps coolly the whole night, even during the moſt ardent heat of ſummer. Perhaps the pores being cleanſed, the inſenſible

ſenſible perſpiration increaſes and occaſions this coolneſs.—It is certain that much ſwimming is the means of ſtopping a diarrhœa, and even of producing a conſtipation. With reſpect to thoſe who do not know how to ſwim, or who are affected with a diarrhœa at a ſeaſon which does not permit them to uſe that exerciſe, a warm bath by cleanſing and purifying the ſkin, is found very ſalutary, and often effects a radical cure. I ſpeak from my own experience, frequently repeated, and that of others to whom I have recommended this.

You will not be diſpleaſed if I conclude theſe haſty remarks by informing you, that as the ordinary method of ſwimming is reduced to the act of rowing with the arms and legs, and is conſequently a labourious and fatiguing operation when the ſpace of water to be croſſed is conſiderable; there is a method in which a ſwimmer may paſs to great diſtances with much facility by means of a ſail. This diſcovery I fortunately made by accident, and in the following manner:

When I was a boy I amuſed myſelf one day with flying a paper kite; and approaching the bank of a pond, which was near a mile broad, I tied the ſtring to a ſtake, and the kite aſcended to a very conſiderable height above the pond, while I was ſwimming. In a little time, being deſirous of amuſing myſelf with my kite, and enjoying at the ſame time the pleaſure of ſwimming, I returned; and looſing from the ſtake the ſtring with the little ſtick which was faſtened to it, went again into the water, where I found, that lying on my back, and holding the ſtick in my hands, I was drawn along the ſurface of the water in a very agreeable manner. Having then engaged another boy to carry my clothes round the pond to a place which I pointed out to him on the other ſide, I began to croſs the pond with my kite, which carried me quite over without the leaſt fatigue, and with the greateſt pleaſure imaginable. I was only obliged occaſionally to halt a little in my courſe, and reſiſt its progreſs

progreſs, when it appeared that, by following too quick, I lowered the kite too much; by doing which occaſionally I made it riſe again. I have never ſince that time practiſed this ſingular mode of ſwimming, though I think it not impoſſible to croſs in this manner from Dover to Calais. The packet-boat, however, is ſtill preferable.

NEW MODE OF BATHING.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS TO M. DUBOURG.

London, July 28, 1768.

I GREATLY approve the epithet you give, in your letter of the 8th of June to the new method of treating the ſmall-pox, which you call the *tonic* or bracing method; I will take occaſion, from it, to mention a practice to which I have accuſtomed myſelf. You know the cold bath has long been in vogue here as a tonic; but the ſhock of the cold water has always appeared to me, generally ſpeaking, as too violent; and I have found it much more agreeable to my conſtitution to bathe in another element, I mean cold air. With this view I riſe early almoſt every morning, and ſit in my chamber without any clothes whatever, half an hour or an hour, according to the ſeaſon, either reading or writing. This practice is not in the leaſt painful, but, on the contrary, agreeable; and if I return to bed afterwards, before I dreſs myſelf, as ſometimes happens, I make a ſupplement to my night's reſt of

of one or two hours of the moſt pleaſing ſleep that can be imagined. I find no ill conſequences whatever reſulting from it, and that at leaſt it does not injure my health, if it does not in fact contribute much to its preſervation. I ſhall therefore call it for the future a *bracing* or *tonic* bath.

March 10, 1773.

I ſhall not attempt to explain why damp clothes occaſion colds, rather than wet ones, becauſe I doubt the fact; I imagine that neither the one nor the other contribute to this effect, and that the cauſes of colds are totally independent of wet and even of cold. I propoſe writing a ſhort paper on this ſubject, the firſt leiſure moment I have at my diſpoſal. In the mean time I can only ſay, that having ſome ſuſpicions that the common notion, which attributes to cold the property of ſtopping the pores and obſtructing perſpiration, was ill-founded, I engaged a young phyſician, who is making ſome experiments with Sanctorius's balance, to eſtimate the different proportions of his perſpiration, when remaining one hour quite naked, and another warmly clothed. He purſued the experiment in this alternate manner for eight hours ſucceſſively, and found his perſpiration almoſt double during thoſe hours in which he was naked.

OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATIONS ON THE GENERALLY PREVAILING DOCTRINES OF LIFE AND DEATH.

TO THE SAME.

YOUR obſervations on the cauſes of death, and the experiments which you propoſe for recalling to life thoſe who appear to be killed by lightning, demonſtrate equally your ſagacity and humanity. It appears that the doctrines of life and death, in general, are yet but little underſtood.

A toad, buried in ſand, will live, it is ſaid, until the ſand becomes petrified; and then, being incloſed in the ſtone, it may ſtill live for we know not how many ages. The facts which are cited in ſupport of this opinion, are too numerous and too circumſtantial not to deſerve a certain degree of credit. As we are accuſtomed to ſee all the animals with which we are acquainted eat and drink, it appears to us difficult to conceive how a toad can be ſupported in ſuch a dungeon. But if we reflect, that the neceſſity of nouriſhment, which animals experience in their ordinary ſtate, proceeds from the continual waſte of their ſubſtance by perſpiration: it will appear leſs incredible that ſome animals in a torpid ſtate, perſpiring leſs becauſe they uſe no exerciſe, ſhould have leſs need of aliment; and that others, which are covered with ſcales or ſhells, which ſtop perſpiration, ſuch as land and ſea turtles, ſerpents, and ſome ſpecies of fiſh, ſhould be able to ſubſiſt a conſiderable time without any nouriſhment whatever. A plant, with its flowers, fades and dies immediately, if expoſed to the air without having its roots immerſed in a humid

a humid ſoil, from which it may draw a ſufficient quantity of moiſture, to ſupply that which exhales from its ſubſtance, and is carried off continually by the air. Perhaps, however, if it were buried in quickſilver, it might preſerve, for a conſiderable ſpace of time, its vegetable life, its ſmell and colour. If this be the caſe, it might prove a commodious method of tranſporting from diſtant countries thoſe delicate plants which are unable to ſuſtain the inclemency of the weather at ſea, and which require particular care and attention.

I have ſeen an inſtance of common flies preſerved in a manner ſomewhat ſimilar. They had been drowned in Madeira wine, apparently about the time when it was bottled in Virginia, to be ſent to London. At the opening of one of the bottles, at the houſe of a friend where I was, three drowned flies fell into the firſt glaſs which was filled. Having heard it remarked that drowned flies were capable of being revived by the rays of the ſun, I propoſed making the experiment upon theſe. They were therefore expoſed to the ſun, upon a ſieve, which had been employed to ſtrain them out of the wine. In leſs than three hours two of them began by degrees to recover life. They commenced by ſome convulſive motions in the thighs, and at length they raiſed themſelves upon their legs, wiped their eyes with their fore feet, beat and bruſhed their wings with their hind feet, and ſoon after began to fly, finding themſelves in Old England, without knowing how they came thither. The third continued lifeleſs until ſunſet, when, loſing all hopes of him, he was thrown away.

I wiſh it were poſſible, from this inſtance, to invent a method of embalming drowned perſons, in ſuch a manner that they might be recalled to life at any period, however diſtant; for having a very ardent deſire to ſee and obſerve the ſtate of America an hundred years hence, I ſhould prefer to an ordinary death, the being immerſed in a caſk of Madeira wine, with a few friends, until that time, then to be recalled to life by the ſolar warmth of my dear country. But, ſince,

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in all probability, we live in an age too early, and too near the infancy of ſcience, to ſee ſuch an art brought in our time to its perfection, I muſt, for the preſent, content myſelf with the treat, which you are ſo kind as to promiſe me, of the reſurrection of a fowl or a turkey-cock.

PRECAUTIONS *to be used by those who are about to undertake a* SEA VOYAGE.

WHEN you intend to take a long voyage, nothing is better than to keep it a ſecret till the moment of your departure. Without this, you will be continually interrupted and tormented by viſits from friends and acquaintances, who not only make you loſe your valuable time, but make you forget a thouſand things which you wiſh to remember; ſo that when you are embarked, and fairly at ſea, you recollect, with much uneaſineſs, affairs which you have not terminated, accounts which you have not ſettled, and a number of things which you propoſed to carry with you, and which you find the want of every moment. Would it not be attended with the beſt conſequences, to reform ſuch a cuſtom; and ſuffer a traveller, without deranging him, to make his preparations in quietneſs, to ſet apart a few days, when theſe are finiſhed, to take leave of his friends, and to receive their good wiſhes for his happy return?

It is not always in one's power to chooſe a captain; though great part of the pleaſure and happineſs of the paſſage depends upon this choice, and though one muſt for a time be confined to his company, and be in ſome meaſure under his command. If he is a ſocial ſenſible man, obliging, and of a good diſpoſition, you will be ſo much the happier. One ſometimes meets with peo-

ple

ple of this deſcription, but they are not common; however, if yours be not of this number, if he be a good ſeaman, attentive, careful, and active in the management of his veſſel, you may diſpenſe with the reſt, for theſe are the moſt eſſential qualities.

Whatever right you may have, by your agreement with him, to the proviſions he has taken on board for the uſe of the paſſengers, it is always proper to have ſome private ſtore, which you may make uſe of occaſionally. You ought, therefore, to provide good water, that of the ſhip being often bad; but you muſt put it into bottles, without which, you cannot expect to preſerve it ſweet. You ought alſo to carry with you good tea, ground coffee chocolate, wine of the ſort you like beſt, cyder, dried raiſins, almonds, ſugar, capillaire, citrons, rum, eggs dipped in oil, portable ſoup, bread twice baked. With regard to poultry, it is almoſt uſeleſs to carry any with you, unleſs you reſolve to undertake the office of feeding and fattening them yourſelf. With the little care which is taken of them on board ſhip, they are almoſt all ſickly, and their fleſh, is as tough as leather.

All ſailors entertain an opinion, which has undoubtedly originated formerly from a want of water, and when it has been found neceſſary to be ſparing of it, that poultry never know when they have drank enough; and that when water is given them at diſcretion, they generally kill themſelves by drinking beyond meaſure. In conſequence of this opinion, they give them water only once in two days, and even then in ſmall quantities: but as they pour this water into troughs inclining on one ſide, which occaſions it to run to the lower part, it thence happens that they are obliged to mount one upon the back of another in order to reach it; and there are ſome which cannot even dip their beaks in it. Thus continually tantalized and tormented by thirſt, they are unable to digeſt their food, which is very dry, and they ſoon fall ſick and die. Some of them are found thus every morning, and are thrown into the ſea; whilſt thoſe which are killed for the table

are ſcarcely fit to be eaten. To remedy this inconvenience, it will be neceſſary to divide their troughs into ſmall compartments, in ſuch a manner that each of them may be capable of containing water; but this is ſeldom or never done. On this account, ſheep and hogs are to be conſidered as the beſt freſh proviſion that one can have at ſea; mutton there being in general very good, and pork excellent.

It may happen that ſome of the proviſions and ſtores which I have recommended may become almoſt uſeleſs, by the care which the captain has taken to lay in a proper ſtock; but in ſuch a caſe you may diſpoſe of it to relieve the poor paſſengers, who, paying leſs for their paſſage, are ſtowed among the common ſailors, and have no right to the captain's proviſions, except ſuch part of them as is uſed for feeding the crew.—Theſe paſſengers are ſometimes ſick, melancholy, and dejected; and there are often women and children among them, neither of whom have any opportunity of procuring thoſe things which I have mentioned, and of which, perhaps, they have the greateſt need. By diſtributing among them a part of your ſuperfluity, you may be of the greateſt aſſiſtance to them. You may reſtore their health, ſave their lives, and in ſhort render them happy; which always affords the livelieſt ſenſation to a feeling mind.

The moſt diſagreeable thing at ſea is the cookery; for there is not, properly ſpeaking, any profeſſed cook on board. The worſt ſailor is generally choſen for that purpoſe, who for the moſt part is equally dirty. Hence comes the proverb uſed among the Engliſh ſailors, that *God ſends meat, and the Devil ſends cooks.* Thoſe, however, who have a better opinion of Providence, will think otherwiſe. Knowing that ſea air, and the exerciſe or motion which they receive from the rolling of the ſhip, have a wonderful effect in whetting the appetite, they will ſay that Providence has given ſailors bad cooks to prevent them from eating too much; or that knowing they would have bad cooks, he has given them a good appetite to prevent them from

from dying with hunger. However, if you have no confidence in these succours of Providence, you may yourself, with a lamp and boiler, by the help of a little spirits of wine, prepare some food, such as soup, hash, &c. A small oven, made of tin-plate, is not a bad piece of furniture: your servant may roast in it a piece of mutton or pork. If you are ever tempted to eat salt beef, which is often very good, you will find that cyder is the best liquor to quench the thirst generally caused by salt meat or salt fish. Sea-biscuit, which is too hard for the teeth of some people, may be softened by steeping it; but bread double baked is the best, for being made of good loaf-bread cut into slices, and baked a second time, it readily imbibes water, becomes soft, and is easily digested; it consequently forms excellent nourishment, much superior to that of biscuit, which has not been fermented.

I must here observe, that this double-baked bread was originally the real biscuit prepared to keep at sea; for the word *biscuit*, in French, signifies twice baked.* Pease often boil badly, and do not become soft; in such a case, by putting a two-pound shot into the kettle, the rolling of the vessel, by means of this bullet, will convert the pease into a kind of porridge, like mustard.

Having often seen soup, when put upon the table at sea in broad flat dishes, thrown out on every side by the rolling of the vessel, I have wished that our tinmen would make our soup-basons with divisions or compartments, forming small plates, proper for containing soup for one person only. By this disposition, the soup, in an extraordinary roll, would not be thrown out of the plate, and would not fall into the breasts of those who are at table, and scald them. Having entertained you with these things of little importance, permit me now to conclude with some general reflections upon navigation.

When

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* *It is derived from* bis *again, and* cuit *baked.*

When navigation is employed only for tranſporting neceſſary proviſions from one country, where they abound, to another where they are wanting; when by this it prevents famines, which were ſo frequent and ſo fatal before it was invented and became ſo common; we cannot help conſidering it as one of thoſe arts which contribute moſt to the happineſs of mankind. But when it is employed to tranſport things of no utility, or articles merely of luxury, it is then uncertain whether the advantages reſulting from it are ſufficient to counterbalance the misfortunes it occaſions, by expoſing the lives of ſo many individuals upon the vaſt ocean. And when it is uſed to plunder veſſels and tranſport ſlaves, it is evidently only the dreadful means of increaſing thoſe calamities which afflict human nature.

One is aſtoniſhed to think on the number of veſſels and men who are daily expoſed in going to bring tea from China, coffee from Arabia, and ſugar and tobacco from America; all commodities which our anceſtors lived very well without. The ſugar-trade employs nearly a thouſand veſſels; and that of tobacco almoſt the ſame number. With regard to the utility of tobacco, little can be ſaid; and, with regard to ſugar, how much more meritorious would it be to ſacrifice the momentary pleaſure which we receive from drinking it once or twice a-day in our tea, than to encourage the numberleſs cruelties that are continually exerciſed in order to procure it for us?

A celebrated French moraliſt ſaid, that when he conſidered the wars which we foment in Africa to get negroes, the great number who of courſe periſh in theſe wars; the multitude of thoſe wretches who die in their paſſage, by diſeaſe, bad air, and bad proviſions; and laſtly, how many periſh by the cruel treatment they meet with in a ſtate of ſlavery; when he ſaw a bit of ſugar, he could not help imagining it to be covered with ſpots of human blood. But, had he added to theſe conſiderations the wars which we carry on one againſt another, to take and retake the iſlands that produce

produce this commodity, he would not have ſeen the ſugar ſimply *ſpotted* with blood, he would have beheld it entirely tinged with it.

Theſe wars make the maritime powers of Europe, and the inhabitants of Paris and London, pay much dearer for their ſugar than thoſe of Vienna, though they are almoſt three hundred leagues diſtant from the ſea. A pound of ſugar, indeed, coſts the former not only the price which they give for it, but alſo what they pay in taxes, neceſſary to ſupport thoſe fleets and armies which ſerve to defend and protect the countries that produce it.

ON LUXURY, IDLENESS, AND INDUSTRY.

From a Letter to Benjamin Vaughan, Esq. written in* 1784.

IT is wonderful how prepoſterouſly the affairs of this world are managed. Naturally one would imagine that the intereſt of a few individuals ſhould give way to general intereſt; but individuals manage their affairs with ſo much more application, induſtry, and addreſs, than the public do theirs, that general intereſt moſt commonly gives way to particular. We aſſemble parliaments and councils, to have the benefit of their collected wiſdom; but we neceſſarily have, at the ſame time, the inconvenience of their collected paſſions

* *Preſent member of Parliament for the borough of Calne, in Wiltſhire, between whom and our author there ſubsisted a very close friendſhip.*

sions, prejudices, and private interests. By the help of these, artful men overpower their wisdom, and dupe its possessors; and if we may judge by the acts, arrets, and edicts, all the world over, for regulating commerce, an assembly of great men is the greatest fool upon earth.

I have not yet, indeed, thought of a remedy for luxury. I am not sure that in a great state it is capable of a remedy; nor that the evil is in itself always so great as it is represented. Suppose we include in the definition of luxury all unnecessary expence, and then let us consider whether laws to prevent such expence are possible to be executed in a great country, and whether, if they could be executed, our people generally would be happier, or even richer. Is not the hope of being one day able to purchase and enjoy luxuries, a great spur to labour and industry? May not luxury therefore produce more than it consumes, if, without such a spur, people would be, as they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent? To this purpose I remember a circumstance. The skipper of a shallop, employed between Cape-May and Philadelphia, had done us some small services, for which he refused to be paid. My wife understanding that he had a daughter, sent her a present of a new-fashioned cap. Three years after, this skipper being at my house with an old farmer of Cape-May, his passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleased with it. "But (said he) it proved a dear cap to our congregation."—"How so?"—"When my daughter appeared with it at meeting, it was so much admired, that all the girls resolved to get such caps from Philadelphia; and my wife and I computed that the whole could not have cost less than a hundred pounds"—"True, (said the farmer) but you do not tell all the story. I think the cap was nevertheless an advantage to us; for it was the first thing that put our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal

withal to buy caps and ribbons there; and you know that induſtry has continued, and is likely to continue and increaſe to a much greater value, and anſwer much better purpoſes"—Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, ſince not only the girls were made happier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians by the ſupply of warm mittens.

In our commercial towns upon the ſea-coaſt, fortunes will occaſionally be made. Some of thoſe who grow rich will be prudent, live within bounds, and preſerve what they have gained for their poſterity; others fond of ſhewing their wealth, will be extravagant, and ruin themſelves. Laws cannot prevent this; and perhaps it is not always an evil to the public. A ſhilling ſpent idly by a fool, may be picked up by a wiſer perſon, who knows better what to do with it. It is therefore not loſt. A vain, ſilly fellow builds a fine houſe, furniſhes it richly, lives in it expenſively, and in a few years ruins himſelf; but the maſons, carpenters ſmiths, and other honeſt tradeſmen, have been by his employ aſſiſted in maintaining and raiſing their families: the farmer has been paid for his labour, and encouraged, and the eſtate is now in better hands.—In ſome caſes, indeed, certain modes of luxury may be a public evil, in the manner as it is a private one. If there be a nation, for inſtance that exports its beef and linen, to pay for the importation of claret and porter, while a great part of its people live upon potatoes, and wear no ſhirts; wherein does it differ from the ſot who lets his family ſtarve, and ſells his clothes to buy drink? Our American commerce is, I confeſs, a little in this way. We ſell our victuals to the iſlands for rum and ſugar; the ſubſtantial neceſſaries of life for ſuperfluities. But we have plenty, and live well nevertheleſs, though, by being ſoberer, we might be richer.

The vaſt quantity of foreſt land we have yet to clear, and put in order for cultivation, will for a long time keep the body of our nation laborious and frugal. Forming an opinion of our people and their manners,

by

by what is seen among the inhabitants of the sea-ports, is judging from an improper sample. The people of the trading towns may be rich and luxurious, while the country possesses all the virtues that tend to promote happiness and public prosperity. Those towns are not much regarded by the country; they are hardly considered as an essential part of the states; and the experience of the last war has shewn that their being in the possession of the enemy did not necessarily draw on the subjection of the country, which bravely continued to maintain its freedom and independence notwithstanding.

It has been computed by some political arithmetician, that if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on something useful, that labour would produce sufficient to procure all the necessaries and comforts of life; want and misery would be banished out of the world, and the rest of the twenty-four hours might be leisure and pleasure.

What occasions then so much want and misery? It is the employment of men and women in works that produce neither the necessaries or conveniencies of life, who, with those who do nothing, consume necessaries raised by the laborious. To explain this:

The first elements of wealth are obtained by labour, from the earth and waters. I have land, and raise corn. With this, if I feed a family that does nothing my corn will be consumed, and at the end of the year I shall be no richer than I was at the beginning. But if, while I feed them, I employ them, some in spinning, others in making bricks, &c. for building, the value of my corn will be arrested and remain with me, and at the end of the year we may be all better clothed and better lodged. And if, instead of employing a man I feed in making bricks, I employ him in fiddling for me, the corn he eats is gone, and no part of his manufacture remains to augment the wealth and convenience of the family; I shall therefore be the poorer for this fiddling man, unless the rest of my family work more

more, or eat leſs, to make up the deficiency he occaſions.

Look round the world, and ſee the millions employed in doing nothing, or in ſomething that amounts to nothing, when the neceſſaries and conveniences of life are in queſtion. What is the bulk of commerce, for which we fight and deſtroy each other, but the toil of millions for ſuperfluities, to the great hazard and loſs of many lives, by the conſtant dangers of the ſea? How much labour is ſpent in building and fitting great ſhips, to go to China and Arabia for tea and coffee, to the Weſt-Indies for ſugar, to America for tobacco? Theſe things cannot be called the neceſſaries of life, for our anceſtors lived very comfortably without them.

A queſtion may be aſked; Could all theſe people now employed in raiſing, making, or carrying ſuperfluities, be ſubſiſted by raiſing neceſſaries? I think they might. The world is large, and a great part of it ſtill uncultivated. Many hundred millions of acres in Aſia, Africa, and America, are ſtill in a foreſt; and a great deal even in Europe. On a hundred acres of this foreſt, a man might become a ſubſtantial farmer; and a hundred thouſand men employed in clearing each his hundred acres, would hardly brighten a ſpot big enough to be viſible from the moon, unleſs with Herſchel's teleſcope; ſo vaſt are the regions ſtill in wood.

It is however ſome comfort to reflect, that, upon the whole, the quantity of induſtry and prudence among mankind exceeds the quantity of idleneſs and folly. Hence the increaſe of good buildings, farms cultivated, and populous cities filled with wealth, all over Europe, which a few years ſince were only to be found on the coaſt of the Mediterranean; and this notwithſtanding the mad wars continually raging, by which are often deſtroyed in one year the works of many years peace. So that we may hope, the luxury of a few merchants on the coaſt will not be the ruin of America.

One

One reflection more, and I will end this long rambling letter. Almoſt all the parts of our bodies require ſome expence. The feet demand ſhoes; the legs ſtockings; the reſt of the body clothing; and the belly a good deal of victuals. Our eyes, tho' exceedingly uſeful, aſk, when reaſonable, only the cheap aſſiſtance of ſpectacles, which could not much impair our finances. But the eyes of other people are the eyes that ruin us. If all but myſelf were blind, I ſhould want neither fine clothes, fine houſes, nor fine furniture.

ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

READING in the newſpapers the ſpeech of Mr. Jackſon in congreſs, againſt meddling with the affair of ſlavery, or attempting to mend the condition of ſlaves, it put me in mind of a ſimilar ſpeech, made about an hundred years ſince, by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the divan of Algiers, which may be ſeen in Martin's account of his conſulſhip, 1687. It was againſt granting the petition of the ſect called *Erika* or *Purists*, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and ſlavery, as being unjuſt.—Mr. Jackſon does not quote it; perhaps he has not ſeen it. If, therefore, ſome of its reaſonings are to be found in his eloquent ſpeech, it may only ſhew that men's intereſts operate, and are operated on, with ſurpriſing ſimilarity, in all countries and climates, whenever they are under ſimilar circmſtances. The African ſpeech, as tranſlated, is as follows:

" Alla

" Alla Bifmillah, &c. God is great, and Mahomet is his prophet.

" Have thefe Erika confidered the conſequences of granting their petition ?

If we ceaſe our cruiſes againſt the Chriſtians, how ſhall we be furniſhed with the commodities their countries produce, and which are ſo neceſſary for us ? If we forbear to make ſlaves of their people, who in this hot climate, are to cultivate our lands ? Who are to perform the common labours of our city, and of our families ? Muſt we not then be our own ſlaves? And is there not more compaſſion and more favour due to us Muſſulmen, than to thoſe Chriſtian dogs ? —We have now above fifty thouſand ſlaves in and near Algiers. This number, if not kept up by freſh ſupplies, will ſoon diminiſh, and be gradually annihilated. If, then, we ceaſe taking and plundering the infidel ſhips, and making ſlaves of the ſeamen and paſſengers, our lands will become of no value, for want of cultivation ; the rents of houſes in the city will ſink one half ; and the revenues of government, ariſing from the ſhare of prizes, muſt be totally deſtroyed ?— And for what ? To gratify the whim of a whimſical ſect, who would have us not only forbear making more ſlaves, but even manumit thoſe we have. But who is to indemnify their maſters for the loſs ? Will the ſtate do it ? Is our treaſury ſufficient ? Will the Erika do it ? Can they do it ? Or would they, to do what they think juſtice to the ſlaves, do a greater injuſtice to the owners ? And if we ſet our ſlaves free, what is to be done with them ? Few of them will return to their native countries ; they know too well the greater hardſhips they muſt there be ſubject to. They will not embrace our holy religion ; they will not adopt our manners : our people will not pollute themſelves by intermarrying with them. Muſt we maintain them as beggars in our ſtreets ; or ſuffer our properties to be the prey of their pillage ? For men accuſtomed to ſlavery, will not work for a livelihood, when not compelled.—And what is there ſo pitiable in their preſent condition ? Were they not ſlaves in their own countries ?

tries? Are not Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian ſtates, governed by deſpots, who hold all their ſubjects in ſlavery, without exception? Even England treats her ſailors as ſlaves, for they are, whenever the government pleaſes, ſeized, and confined in ſhips of war, condemned, not only to work, but to fight for ſmall wages, or a mere ſubſiſtence, not better than our ſlaves are allowed by us. Is their condition then made worſe by their falling into our hands? No; they have only exchanged one ſlavery for another; and I may ſay a better; for here they are brought into a land where the ſun of Iſlamiſm gives forth its light, and ſhines in full ſplendor, and they have an opportunity of making themſelves acquainted with the true doctrine, and thereby ſaving their immortal ſouls.—Thoſe who remain at home have not that happineſs. Sending the ſlaves home, then, would be ſending them out of light into darkneſs.

"I repeat the queſtion, what is to be done with them? I have heard it ſuggeſted, that they may be planted in the wilderneſs, where there is plenty of land for them to ſubſiſt on, and where they may flouriſh as a free ſtate.——But they are, I doubt, too little diſpoſed to labour without compulſion, as well as too ignorant to eſtabliſh good government: and the wild Arabs would ſoon moleſt and deſtroy, or again enſlave them. While ſerving us, we take care to provide them with every thing; and they are treated with humanity. The labourers in their own countries, are, as I am informed, worſe fed, lodged, and clothed.—The condition of moſt of them is therefore already mended, and requires no farther improvement. Here their lives are in ſafety. They are not liable to be impreſſed for ſoldiers, and forced to cut one another's Chriſtian throats, as in the wars of their own countries. If ſome of the religious mad bigots who now teaſe us with their ſilly petitions, have, in a fit of blind zeal, freed their ſlaves, it was not generoſity, it was not humanity that moved them to the action; it was from the conſcious burthen of a load of ſins, and hope, from the

the ſuppoſed merits of ſo good a work, to be excuſed from damnation.—How groſsly are they miſtaken, in imagining ſlavery to be diſavowed by the Alcoran? Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, "Maſters, treat your ſlaves with kindneſs—Slaves, ſerve your maſters with cheerfulneſs and fidelity," clear proofs to the contrary? Nor can the plundering of infidels be in that ſacred book forbidden; ſince it is well known from it, that God has given the world, and all that it contains, to his faithful Muſſulmen, who are to enjoy it, of right, as faſt as they can conquer it. Let us then hear no more of this deteſtable propoſition, the manumiſſion of Chriſtian ſlaves, the adoption of which would, by depreciating our lands and houſes, and thereby depriving ſo many good citizens of their properties, create univerſal diſcontent, and provoke inſurrections, to the endangering of government, and producing general confuſion. I have, therefore, no doubt that this wiſe council will prefer the comfort and happineſs of a whole nation of true believers, to the whim of a few Erika, and diſmiſs their petition."

The reſult was, as Martin tells us, that the Divan came to this reſolution: "That the doctrine, that the "plundering and enſlaving the Chriſtians is unjuſt, is "at beſt problematical; but that it is the intereſt of "this ſtate to continue the practice, is clear; there-"fore, let the petition be rejected."—And it was rejected accordingly.

And ſince like motives are apt to produce, in the minds of men, like opinions and reſolutions, may we not venture to predict, from this account, that the petitions to the parliament of England for aboliſhing the ſlave-trade, to ſay nothing of other legiſlatures, and the debates upon them, will have a ſimilar concluſion.

HISTORICUS.

March 23, 1790.

OBSERVATIONS ON WAR.

BY the original law of nations, war and extirpation were the punishment of injury. Humanizing by degrees, it admitted slavery instead of death: a farther step was the exchange of prisoners instead of slavery; another, to respect more the property of private persons under conquest, and be content with acquired dominion. Why should not this law of nations go on improving? Ages have intervened between its several steps: but as knowledge of late increases rapidly, why should not those steps be quickened? Why should it not be agreed to, as the future law of nations, that in any war hereafter the following description of men should be undisturbed, have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in security? viz.

1. Cultivators of the earth, because they labour for the subsistence of mankind.

2. Fishermen, for the same reason.

3. Merchants and traders in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessaries and conveniences of life.

4. Artists and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the hospitals of enemies should be unmolested—they ought to be assisted. It is for the interest of humanity in general, that the occasions of war, and the inducements to it, should be diminished. If rapine be abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away; and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.

The

The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas —a remnant of the ancient piracy—though it may be accidentally beneficial to particular persons, is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to the nation that authorises it. In the beginning of a war some rich ships are surprised and taken. This encourages the first adventurers to fit out more armed vessels, and many others to do the same. But the enemy at the same time become more careful, arm their merchant ships better, and render them not so easy to be taken; they go also more under the protection of convoys.— Thus, while the privateers to take them are multiplied, the vessels subject to be taken, and the chances of profit are diminished; so that many cruises are made, wherein the expences overgo the gains; and, as is the case in other lotteries, though particulars have got prizes, the mass of adventurers are losers, the whole expence of fitting out all the privateers during a war being much greater than the whole amount of goods taken.

Then there is the national loss of all the labour of so many men during the time they have been employed in robbing; who besides spend what they get in riot, drunkenness, and debauchery; lose their habits of industry; are rarely fit for any sober business after a peace, and serve only to increase the number of highwaymen and house-breakers. Even the undertakers who have been fortunate, are, by sudden wealth, led into expensive living, the habit of which continues when the means of supporting it cease, and finally ruins them: a just punishment for having wantonly and unfeelingly ruined many honest innocent traders and their families, whose substance was employed in serving the common interest of mankind.

ON THE

IMPRESS OF SEAMEN.

Notes copied from Dr. Franklin's writing in pencil in the margin of Judge Foster's celebrated argument in favour of the IMPRESSING OF SEAMEN *(published in the folio edition of his works.)*

JUDGE Foſter, p. 158. "Every Man."—The concluſion here from the *whole to a part*, does not ſeem to be good logic. If the alphabet ſhould ſay, Let us all fight for the defence of the whole; that is equal, and may therefore be juſt. But if they ſhould ſay, Let A, B, C, and D, go out and fight for us, while we ſtay at home and ſleep in whole ſkins; that is not equal, and therefore cannot be juſt.

Ib. "Employ."—If you pleaſe. The word ſignifies engaging a man to work for me, by offering him ſuch wages as are ſufficient to induce him to prefer my ſervice. This is very different from compelling him to work on ſuch terms as I think proper.

Ib. "This ſervice and employment, &c."—Theſe are falſe facts. His employments and ſervice are not the ſame—Under the merchant he goes in an unarmed veſſel, not obliged to fight, but to tranſport merchandiſe. In the king's ſervice he is obliged to fight, and to hazard all the dangers of battle. Sickneſs on board of king's ſhips is alſo more common and more mortal. The merchant's ſervice too he can quit at the end of the

the voyage; not the king's. Alſo, the merchant's wages are much higher.

Ib. "I am very ſenſible, &c."—Here are two things put in compariſon that are not comparable: viz. injury to ſeamen, and inconvenience to trade. Inconvenience to the whole trade of a nation will not juſtify injuſtice to a ſingle ſeaman. If the trade would ſuffer without his ſervice, it is able and ought to be willing to offer him ſuch wages as may induce him to afford his ſervice voluntarily.

Page 159. "Private miſchief muſt be borne with "patience, for preventing a national calamity."—Where is this maxim in law and good policy to be found? And how can that be a maxim which is not conſiſtent with common ſenſe? If the maxim had been, that private miſchief, which, prevent a national calamity, ought to be generouſly compenſated by the nation, one might underſtand it: but that ſuch private miſchiefs are only to be borne with patience, is abſurd!

Ib. "The expedient, &c. And, &c," (Paragraphs 2 and 3.)—Twenty ineffectual or inconvenient ſchemes will not juſtify one that is unjuſt.

Ib. "Upon the foot of, &c."—Your reaſoning, indeed, like a lie, ſtands but upon one *foot*; truth upon two.

Page 160. "Full wages."—Probably the ſame they had in the merchant's ſervice.

Page 174. "I hardly admit, &c." (Paragraph 5)—When this author ſpeaks of impreſſing, page 158, he diminiſhes the horror of the practice as much as poſſible, by preſenting to the mind one ſailor only ſuffering *hardship* (as he tenderly calls it) in ſome *particular cases* only: and he places againſt this private miſchief the inconvenience to the trade of the kingdom.—But if, as he ſuppoſes is often the caſe, the ſailor who is preſſed, and obliged to ſerve for the defence of trade, at the rate of twenty five ſhillings a month, could get three pounds fifteen ſhillings in the merchant's ſervice, you take from him fifty ſhillings a month;

month; and if you have 100,000 in your ſervice, you rob this honeſt induſtrious part of ſociety, and their poor families of 250,000l. per month, or three millions a year, and at the ſame time oblige them to hazard their lives in fighting for the defence of your trade; to the defence of which all ought indeed to contribute (and ſailors among the reſt) in proportion to their profits by it; but this three millions is more than their ſhare, if they did not pay with their perſons; but when you force that, methinks you ſhould excuſe the other.

But it may be ſaid, to give the king's ſeamen merchant's wages would coſt the nation too much, and call for more taxes. The queſtion then will amount to this: whether it be juſt in a community, that the richer part ſhould compel the poorer to fight in defence of them and their properties, for ſuch wages as they think fit to allow, and puniſh them if they refuſe? Our author tells us that it is "*legal*." I have not law enough to diſpute his authorities, but I cannot perſuade myſelf that it is equitable. I will, however, own for the preſent, that it may be lawful when neceſſary; but when I contend that it may be uſed ſo as to produce the ſame good effects—the *public ſecurity* without doing ſo much intolerable injuſtice as attends the impreſſing common ſeamen.—In order to be better underſtood, I would premiſe two things; Firſt, that voluntary ſeamen may be had for the ſervice, if they were ſufficiently paid. The proof is, that to ſerve in the ſame ſhip, and incur the ſame dangers, you have no occaſion to impreſs captains, lieutenants, ſecond lieutenants, midſhipman, purſers, nor many other officers. Why, but that the profits of their places, or the emoluments expected, are ſufficient inducements? The buſineſs then is, to find money, by impreſſing, ſufficient to make the ſailors all volunteers, as well as their officers; and this without any freſh burthen upon trade.—The ſecond of my premiſes is, that twenty-five ſhillings a month, with his ſhare of ſalt beef, pork, and peaſe-pudding, being found ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence

ſiſtence of a hard-working ſeaman, it will certainly be ſo for a ſedentary ſcholar or a gentleman. I would then propoſe to form a treaſury, out of which encouragements to ſeamen ſhould be paid. To fill this treaſury, I would impreſs a number of civil officers, who at preſent have great ſalaries, oblige them to ſerve in their reſpective offices for twenty-five ſhillings a month, with their ſhares of meſs proviſions, and throw the reſt of their ſalaries into the ſeamen's treaſury. If ſuch a preſs-warrant were given me to execute, the firſt I would preſs ſhould be a Recorder of Briſtol, or a Mr. Juſtice Foſter, becauſe I might have need of his edifying example, to ſhow how much impreſſing ought to be borne with; for he would certainly find, that though to be reduced to twenty-five ſhillings a month might be a *private miſchief*, yet that, agreeably to his maxim of law and good policy, it *ought to be borne with patience*, for preventing a national calamity. Then I would preſs the reſt of the judges; and, opening the red book, I would preſs every civil officer of government from 50l. a year ſalary, up to 50,000l. which would throw an immenſe ſum into our treaſury: and theſe gentlemen could not complain, ſince they would receive twenty-five ſhillings a month, and their rations; and this without being obliged to fight. Laſtly, I think I would impreſs***.

ON THE CRIMINAL LAWS, AND THE PRACTICE OF PRIVATEERING.

LETTER TO BENJAMIN VAUGHAN, ESQ.

March 14, 1785.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AMONG the pamphlets you lately sent me, was one, entitled, *Thoughts on Executive Justice.* In return for that, I send you one on the same subject, *Observations concernant l' Exécution de l' Article IV. de la Déclaration sur le Vol.* They are both addressed to the judges, and written, as you will see, in a very different spirit. The English author is for hanging *all* thieves. The Frenchman is for proportioning punishments to offences.

If we really believe, as we profess to believe, that the law of Moses was the law of God, the dictate of divine wisdom, infinitely superior to human; on what principles do we ordain death as the punishment of an offence, which, according to that law, was only to be punished by a restitution of four-fold? To put a man to death for an offence which does not deserve death, is it not a murder? And, as the French writer says, *Doit-on punir un délit contre la societé par un crime contre la nature.*

Superfluous property is the creature of society. Simple and mild laws were sufficient to guard the property

perty that was merely neceſſary. The ſavage's bow, his hatchet, and his coat of ſkins, were ſufficiently ſecured, without law, by the fear of perſonal reſentment and retaliation. When, by virtue of the firſt laws, part of the ſociety accumulated wealth, and grew powerful, they enacted others more ſevere, and would protect their property at the expence of humanity. This was abuſing their power, and commencing a tyranny. If a ſavage, before he entered into ſociety, had been told—"Your neighbour, by this means, may become "owner of an hundred deer; but if your brother, or "your ſon, or yourſelf, having no deer of your own, "and being hungry, ſhould kill one, an infamous death "muſt be the conſequence:"—he would probably have preferred his liberty, and his common right of killing any deer, to all the advantages of ſociety that might be propoſed to him.

That it is better a hundred guilty perſons ſhould eſcape, than that one innocent perſon ſhould ſuffer, is a maxim that has been long and generally approved; never, that I know of, controverted. Even the ſanguinary author of the *Thoughts;* agrees to it, adding well, "that the very thought of *injured* innocence, "and much more that of *ſuffering* innocence, muſt "awaken all our tendereſt and moſt compaſſionate "feelings, and at the ſame time raiſe our higheſt in-"dignation againſt the inſtruments of it. But, (he adds) there is no danger of *either*, from a ſtrict adherence to the laws." Really!—Is it then impoſſible to make an unjuſt law? and if the law itſelf be unjuſt, may it not be the very "inſtrument" which ought to "raiſe the author's and every body's higheſt indignation?" I ſee, in the laſt newſpapers from London, that a woman is capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, for privately ſtealing out of a ſhop ſome gauze, value fourteen ſhillings and three pence: Is there any proportion between the injury done by a theft, value fourteen ſhillings and three pence, and the puniſhment of a human creature, by death, on a gibbit? Might not that woman, by her labour, have made the reparation

ration ordained by God, in paying fourfold? Is not all punishment, inflicted beyond the merit of the offence, so much punishment of innocence? In this light, how vast is the annual quantity, of not only *injured* but *suffering* innocence, in almost all the civilized states of Europe!

But it seems to have been thought that this kind of innocence may be punished by way of *preventing* crimes. I have read, indeed, of a cruel Turk in Barbary, who, whenever he bought a new Christian slave, ordered him immediately to be hung up by the legs, and to receive a hundred blows of a cudgel on the soles of his feet, that the severe sense of the punishment, and fear of incurring it thereafter, might prevent the faults that should merit it. Our author himself would hardly approve entirely of this Turk's conduct in the government of slaves; and yet he appears to recommend something like it for the government of English subjects, when he applauds the reply of Judge Burnet to the convict horse-stealer; who being asked what he had to say why judgment of death should not pass against him, and answering, that it was hard to hang a man for *only* stealing a horse, was told by the judge, "Man, thou art not to be hanged *only* for stealing a horse, but that horses may not be stolen." The man's answer, if candidly examined, will, I imagine, appear reasonable, as being founded on the eternal principle of justice and equity, that punishments should be proportioned to offences, and the judge's reply brutal and unreasonable, though the writer "wishes all judges to carry it with them whenever they go to the circuit, and to bear it in their minds, as containing a wise reason for all the penal statutes which they are called upon to put in execution. It at once illustrates, says he, the true grounds and reasons of all capital punishments whatsoever, namely, that every man's property, as well as his life, may be held sacred and inviolate." Is there then no difference in value between property and life? If I think it right that the crime of murder should be punished with death, not only as an equal punishment

puniſhment of the crime, but to prevent other murders, does it follow that I muſt approve of the ſame puniſhment for a little invaſion on my property by theft? If I am not myſelf ſo barbarous, ſo bloody-minded, and revengeful, as to kill a fellow-creature for ſtealing from me fourteen ſhillings and three pence, how can I approve of a law that does it? Monteſquieu, who was himſelf a judge, endeavours to impreſs other maxims. He muſt have known what humane judges feel on ſuch occaſions, and what the effects of thoſe feelings; and, ſo far from thinking that ſevere and exceſſive puniſhments prevent crimes, he aſſerts, as quoted by our French writer, that

" *L'atrocité des loix en empêche l'exècution.*

" *Lorsque la peine est sans mesure, on est souvent* " *obligé de lui préférer l'impunité.*

" *La cause des tous les relâchemens vient de l'im-* " *punité des crimes, et non de la moderation des* " *peines.*"

It is ſaid by thoſe who know Europe generally, that there are more thefts committed and puniſhed annually in England than in all the other nations put together. If this be ſo, there muſt be a cauſe or cauſes for ſuch depravity in our common people. May not one be the deficiency of juſtice and morality in our national government, manifeſted in our oppreſſive conduct to ſubjects, and unjuſt wars on our neighbours? View the long-perſiſted in, unjuſt, monopolizing treatment of Ireland, at length acknowledged! View the plundering government exerciſed by our merchants in the Indies; the confiſcating war made upon the American colonies; and, to ſay nothing of thoſe upon France and Spain, view the late war upon Holland, which was ſeen by impartial Europe in no other light than that of a war in rapine and pillage; the hopes of an immenſe and eaſy prey being its only apparent, and probably its true and real motive and encouragement.

Juſtice

Juſtice is as ſtrictly due between neighbour nations as between neighbour citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang, as when ſingle; and a nation that makes an unjuſt war is only a great gang. After employing your people in robbing the Dutch, is it ſtrange that, being out of that employ by peace, they ſtill continue robbing, and rob one another? *Piraterie*, as the French call it, or privateering, is the univerſal bent of the Engliſh nation, at home and abroad, wherever ſettled. No leſs than ſeven hundred privateers were, it is ſaid, commiſſioned in the laſt war! Theſe were fitted out by merchants, to prey upon other merchants, who had never done them any injury. Is there probably any one of thoſe privateering merchants of London, who were ſo ready to rob the merchants of Amſterdam, that would not as readily plunder another London merchant of the next ſtreet, if he could do it with the ſame impunity! The avidity, the *alieni appetens* is the ſame; it is the fear alone of the gallows that makes the difference. How then can a nation, which, amongſt the honeſteſt of its people, has ſo many thieves by inclination, and whoſe government encouraged and commiſſioned no leſs than ſeven hundred gangs of robbers; how can ſuch a nation have the face to condemn the crime in individuals, and hang up twenty of them in a morning! It naturally puts one in mind of a Newgate anecdote. One of the priſoners complained, that in the night ſomebody had taken his buckles out of his ſhoes. "What the devil!" ſays another, "have we then *thieves* amongſt us? It muſt not be ſuffered, Let us ſearch out the rogue, and pump him to death."

There is, however, one late inſtance of an Engliſh merchant who will not profit by ſuch ill-gotten gain. He was, it ſeems, part owner of a ſhip, which the other owners thought fit to employ as a letter of marque, and which took a number of French prizes. The booty being ſhared, he has now an agent here enquiring, by an advertiſement in the Gazette, for thoſe who ſuffered the loſs, in order to make them, as far

as

as in him lies, reſtitution. This conſcientious man is a Quaker. The Scotch Preſbyterians were formerly as tender; for there is ſtill extant an ordinance of the town-council of Edinburgh, made ſoon after the Reformation, "forbidding the purchaſe of prize goods, under pain of loſing the freedom of the burgh for ever, with other puniſhment at the will of the magiſtrate; the practice of making prizes being contrary to good conſcience, and the rule of treating Chriſtian brethren as we would wiſh to be treated; and ſuch goods *are not to be sold by any godly men within this burgh.*"—The race of theſe godly men in Scotland is probably extinct, or their principles abandoned, ſince, as far as that nation had a hand in promoting the war againſt the colonies, prizes and confiſcations are believed to have been a conſiderable motive.

It has been for ſome time a generally received opinion, that a military man is not to enquire whether a war be juſt or unjuſt; he is to execute his orders.—All princes who are diſpoſed to become tyrants, muſt probably approve of this opinion, and be willing to eſtabliſh it; but is it not a dangerous one? ſince, on that principle, if the tyrant commands his army to attack and deſtroy, not only an unoffending neighbour nation, but even his own ſubjects, the army is bound to obey. A negro ſlave, in our colonies, being commanded by his maſter to rob or murder a neighbour, or do any other immoral act, may refuſe; and the magiſtrate will protect him in his refuſal. The ſlavery then of a ſoldier is worſe than that of a negro! A conſcientious officer, if not reſtrained by the apprehenſion of its being imputed to another cauſe, may indeed reſign, rather than be employed in an unjuſt war, but the private men are ſlaves for life; and they are perhaps incapable of judging for themſelves. We can only lament their fate, and ſtill more that of a ſailor, who is often dragged by force from his honeſt occupation, and compelled to imbrue his hands in perhaps innocent blood. But methinks it well behoves merchants (men more enlightened by their education, and perfectly

perfectly free from any such force or obligation) to consider well of the justice of a war, before they voluntarily engage a gang of ruffians to attack their fellow-merchants of a neighbouring nation, to plunder them of their property, and perhaps ruin them and their families, if they yield it: or to wound, maim, and murder them, if they attempt to defend it. Yet these things are done by Christian merchants, whether a war be just or unjust; and it can hardly be just on both sides. They are done by English and American merchants, who, nevertheless, complain of private theft, and hang by dozens the thieves they have taught by their own example.

It is high time, for the sake of humanity, that a stop were put to this enormity. The United States of America, though better situated than any European nation to make profit by privateering, (most of the trade of Europe with the West-Indies passing before their doors) are, as far as in them lies, endeavouring to abolish the practice, by offering, in all their treaties with other powers, an article, engaging solemnly, that in case of future war, no privateer shall be commissioned on either side; and that unarmed merchant-ships, on both sides, shall pursue their voyages unmolested.* This will be a happy improvement of the law of nations. The humane and the just cannot but wish general success to the proposition.

With unchangeable esteem and affection,

I am, my dear friend,

Ever yours.

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* *This offer having been accepted by the late king of Prussia, a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between that monarch and the United States, containing the following humane, philanthropic article, in the formation of which Dr. Franklin, as one of the American plenipotentiaries, was principally concerned, viz.*

REMARKS CONCERNING THE SAVAGES OF NORTH AMERICA.

SAVAGES we call them, becauſe their manners differ from ours, which we think the perfection of civility; they think the ſame of theirs.

Perhaps, if we could examine the manners of different nations with impartiality, we ſhould find no people ſo rude as to be without any rules of politeneſs; nor any ſo polite as not to have ſome remains of rudeneſs.

The

ART. XXIII.

If war ſhould ariſe between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country, then reſiding in the other, ſhall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and ſettle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off their effects without moleſtation or hindrance: and all women and children, ſcholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artiſans, manufacturers, and fiſhermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general all others whoſe occupations are for the common ſubſiſtence and benefit of mankind, ſhall be allowed to continue their reſpective employments, and ſhall not be moleſted in their perſons, nor ſhall their houſes or goods be burned, or otherwiſe deſtroyed, nor their fields waſted, by the armed force of the enemy into whoſe power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall; but if any thing is neceſſary to be taken from them for the uſe of ſuch armed force, the ſame ſhall be paid for at a reaſonable price.—And all merchant and trading veſſels employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the neceſſaries, conveniencies, and comforts of human life more eaſy to be obtained, and more general, ſhall be allowed to paſs free and unmoleſted; and neither of the contracting powers ſhall grant or iſſue any commiſſion to any private armed veſſels empowering them to take or deſtroy ſuch trading veſſels, or interrupt ſuch commerce.

The Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counſellors; for all their government is by the counſel or advice of ſages; there is no force there are no priſons, no officers to compel obedience, or inflict puniſhment. Hence they generally ſtudy oratory; the beſt ſpeaker having the moſt influence. The Indian women till the ground, dreſs the food, nurſe and bring up the children, and preſerve and hand down to poſterity the memory of public tranſactions. Theſe employments of men and women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leiſure for improvement by converſation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they eſteem ſlaviſh and baſe; and the learning on which we value ourſelves, they regard as frivolous and uſeleſs. An inſtance of this occurred at the treaty of Lancaſter, in Pennſylvania, anno 1744, between the government of Virginia and the Six nations. After the principal buſineſs was ſettled, the commiſſioners from Virginia acquainted the Indians by a ſpeech, that there was at Williamſburg a college, with a fund, for educating Indian youth; and that if the chiefs of the Six Nations would ſend down half a dozen of their ſons to that college, the government would take care that they ſhould be well provided for, and inſtructed in all the learning of the white people. It is one of the Indian rules of politeneſs not to anſwer a public propoſition the ſame day that it is made; they think it would be treating it as a light matter; and they ſhew it reſpect by taking time to conſider it, as of a matter important. They therefore deferred their anſwer till the day following; when their ſpeaker began, by expreſſing their deep ſenſe of the kindneſs of the Virginia government, in making them that offer; "for we know (ſays he) that you highly eſteem the kind of learning taught in thoſe colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expenſive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your propoſal, and we thank you heartily. But you who are wiſe

wise must know, that different nations have different conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it: several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences; but when they came back to us, they were bad runners; ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear either cold or hunger; knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it: and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make *men* of them."

Having frequent occasion to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men sit in the foremost ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmost. The business of the women is to take exact notice of what passes, imprint it in their memories, for they have no writing, and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve tradition of the stipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak, rises. The rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished, and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that, if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again, and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent. How different this is from the conduct of a polite British House of Commons, where scarce a day passes, without some confusion, that makes the speaker hoarse in calling *to order*; and how

how different from the mode of converſation in many polite companies of Europe, where if you do not deliver your ſentence with great rapidity, you are cut off in the middle of it by the impatient loquacity of thoſe you converſe with, and never ſuffered to finiſh it!

The politeneſs of theſe ſavages in converſation, is indeed, carried to exceſs; ſince it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is aſſerted in their preſence. By this means they indeed avoid diſputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impreſſion you make upon them. The miſſionaries who have attempted to convert them to Chriſtianity, all complain of this as one of the great difficulties of their miſſion. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the goſpel explained to them, and give their uſual tokens of aſſent and approbation: you would think they were convinced. No ſuch matter. It is mere civility.

A Swediſh miniſter having aſſembled the chiefs of the Suſquehannah Indians, made a ſermon to them, acquainting them with the principal hiſtorical facts on which our religion is founded: ſuch as the fall of our firſt parents by eating an apple; the coming of Chriſt to repair the miſchief; his miracles and ſufferings, &c. —When he had finiſhed, an Indian orator ſtood up to thank him. "What you have told us," ſays he, is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples. It is better to make them all into cyder. We are much obliged by your kindneſs in coming ſo far to tell us thoſe things which you have heard from your mothers. In return I will tell you ſome of thoſe we have heard from ours.

"In the beginning, our fathers had only the fleſh of animals to ſubſiſt on; and if their hunting was unſucceſsful, they were ſtarving. Two of our young hunters having killed a deer, made a fire in the woods to broil ſome parts of it. When they were about to ſatisfy their hunger, they beheld a beautiful young woman deſcend from the clouds, and ſeat herſelf on that

that hill which you see yonder among the Blue Mountains. They said to each other, it is a spirit that perhaps has smelt our broiling venison, and wishes to eat of it: let us offer some to her. They presented her with the tongue: she was pleased with the taste of it, and said, your kindness shall be rewarded. Come to this place after thirteen moons, and you shall find something that will be of great benefit in nourishing you and your children to the latest generations. They did so, and to their surprise found plants they had never seen before; but which, from that ancient time, have been constantly cultivated among us, to our great advantage. Where her right hand had touched the ground, they found maize; where her left hand had touched it, they found kidney-beans; and where her backside had sat on it, they found tobacco." The good missionary, disgusted with this idle tale, said, What I delivered to you, were sacred truths; but what you tell me, is mere fable, fiction and falsehood." The Indian, offended, replied, "My brother, it seems your friends have not done you justice in your education; they have not well instructed you in the rules of common civility. You saw that we, who understand and practise those rules, believed all your stories, why do you refuse to believe ours?"

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility and good manners. "We have," say they, "as much curiosity as "you, and when you come into our towns, we wish "for opportunities of looking at you; but for this "purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you "are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your "company."

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling strangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive

arrive within hearing, they ſtop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men uſually come out to them, and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the ſtrangers' houſe. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that ſtrangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one ſends them what he can ſpare of victuals, and ſkins to repoſe on. When the ſtrangers are refreſhed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, converſation begins, with enquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c. and it uſually ends with offers of ſervice; if the ſtrangers have occaſion of guides, or any neceſſaries for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The ſame hoſpitality, eſteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practiſed by private perſons; of which *Conrad Weiser*, our interpreter, gave me the following inſtance. He had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and ſpoke well the Mohawk language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a meſſage from our governor to the council at *Onondago*, he called at the habitation of *Canassetego*, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, ſpread furs for him to ſit on, placed before him ſome boiled beans and veniſon, and mixed ſome rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreſhed, and had lit his pipe, Canaſſetego began to converſe with him: aſked how he had fared the many years ſince they had ſeen each other, whence he then came, what occaſioned the journey, &c. Conrad anſwered all his queſtions; and when the diſcourſe began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, ſaid, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know ſomething of their cuſtoms: I have been ſometimes at Albany, and have obſerved, that once in ſeven days they ſhut up their ſhops, and aſſemble all in the great houſe; tell me what that is for! What do they do there?" "They meet there," ſays Conrad, "to hear and learn *good things*." "I do not doubt," ſays

ſays the Indian, "that they tell you ſo; they have told me the ſame; but I doubt the truth of what they ſay, and I will tell you my reaſons. I went lately to Albany, to ſell my ſkins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I uſed generally to deal with Hans Hanſon; but I was a little inclined this time to try ſome other merchants. However, I called firſt upon Hans, and aſked him what he would give for beaver. He ſaid he could not give more than four ſhillings a pound; but, ſays he, I cannot talk on buſineſs now; this is the day when we meet together to learn *good things*, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myſelf, ſince I cannot do any buſineſs to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too, and I went with him. There ſtood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily, I did not underſtand what he ſaid; but perceiving that he looked much at me, and at Hanſon, I imagined he was angry at ſeeing me there; ſo I went out, ſat down near the houſe, ſtruck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting ſhould break up. I thought too that the man had mentioned ſomething of beaver, and I ſuſpected it might be the ſubject of their meeting. So when they came out I accoſted my merchant. "Well, "Hans," ſays I, I hope you have agreed to give more "than four ſhillings a pound." No, "ſays he," I "cannot give ſo much, I cannot give more than three "ſhillings and ſix-pence." I then ſpoke to ſeveral other dealers, but they all ſung the ſame ſong, three and ſix-pence, three and ſix-pence. This made it clear to me that my ſuſpicion was right; and that whatever they pretended of meeting to learn *good things*, the purpoſe was to conſult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Conſider but a little Conrad, and you muſt be of my opinion. If they met ſo often to learn *good things*, they would certainly have learned ſome before this time. But they are ſtill ignorant. You know our practice. If a white man, in travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat

him as I do you; we dry him if he is wet; we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may allay his thirſt and hunger; and we ſpread ſoft furs for him to reſt and ſleep on: we demand nothing in return.* But if I go into a white man's houſe at Albany, and aſk for victuals and drink, they ſay, Where is your money? and if I have none, they ſay, Get out, you Indian dog. You ſee they have not yet learned thoſe little *good things* that we need no meetings to be inſtructed in, becauſe our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and therefore it is impoſſible their meetings ſhould be, as they ſay, for any ſuch purpoſe, or have any ſuch effect: they are only to contrive *the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver.*"

TO

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* *It is remarkable, that in all ages and countries, hospitality has been allowed as the virtue of those, whom the civilized were pleased to call Barbarians; the Greeks celebrated the Scythians for it. The Saracens poſſeſſed it eminently, and it is to this day the reigning virtue of the wild Arabs. St. Paul too, in the relation of his voyage and ſhipwreck on the iſland of Melita, ſays,* "*The barbarous people ſhewed us no little kindneſs;* "*for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, be-* "*cauſe of the preſent rain, and becauſe of the cold.*" *This note is taken from a ſmall collection of Franklin's papers, printed for Dilly.*

TO

M. DUBOURG,

Concerning the DISSENSIONS *between* ENGLAND *and* AMERICA.

London, October 2, 1770.

I SEE with pleaſure that we hink pretty much alike on the ſubjects of Engliſh America. We of the colonies have never inſiſted that we ought to be exempt from contributing to the common expences neceſſary to ſupport the proſperity of the empire. We only aſſert, that having parliaments of our own, and not having repreſentatives in that of Great Britain, our parliaments are the only judges of what we can and what we ought to contribute in this caſe: and that the Engliſh parliament has no right to take our money without our conſent. In fact, the Britiſh empire is not a ſingle ſtate; it comprehends many; and though the parliament of Great Britain has arrogated to itſelf the power of taxing the colonies, it has no more right to do ſo, than it has to tax Hanover. We have the ſame king, but not the ſame legiſlatures.

The diſpute between the two countries has already coſt England many millions ſterling, which it has loſt in its commerce, and America has in this reſpect been a proportionable gainer. This commerce conſiſted principally of ſuperfluities; objects of luxury and faſhion, which we can well do without; and the reſolution we have formed of importing no more till our grievances are redreſſed, has enabled many of our infant manufacturers

to take root ; and it will not be eaſy to make our people abandon them in future, even ſhould a connection more cordial than ever ſucceed the preſent troubles.—I have, indeed, no doubt that the parliament of England will finally abandon its preſent pretenſions, and leave to us the peaceable enjoyment of our rights and privileges.

B. FRANKLIN.

A COMPARISON

Of the CONDUCT *of the* ANCIENT JEWS, *and of the* ANTIFEDERALISTS *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA.

A ZEALOUS advocate for the propoſed Federal Conſtitution, in a certain public aſſembly, ſaid, that "the repugnance of a great part of mankind to good "government was ſuch, that he believed that if an "angel from heaven was to bring down a conſtitu-"on formed there for our uſe, it would nevertheleſs "meet with violent oppoſition."—He was reproved for the ſuppoſed extravagance of the ſentiment ; and he did not juſtify it.—Probably it might not have immediately occurred to him that the experiment had been tried, and that the event was recorded in the moſt faithful of all hiſtories, the Holy Bible ; otherwiſe he might, as it ſeems to me, have ſupported his opinion by that unexceptionable authority.

The Supreme Being had been pleaſed to nouriſh up a ſingle family, by continued acts of his attentive Providence, 'till it became a great people : and having reſcued them from bondage by many miracles perform-

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ed by his ſervant Moſes, he perſonally delivered to that choſen ſervant, in preſence of the whole nation, a conſtitution and code of laws for their obſervance; accompanied and ſanctioned with promiſes of great rewards, and threats of ſevere puniſhments, as the conſequence of their obedience or diſobedience.

This conſtitution, though the Deity himſelf was to be at its head, (and it is therefore called by political writers a Theocracy) could not be carried into execution but by means of his miniſters; Aaron and his ſons were therefore commiſſioned to be, with Moſes, the firſt eſtabliſhed miniſtry of the new government.

One would have thought, that the appointment of men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in procuring the liberty of the nation, and had hazarded their lives in openly oppoſing the will of a powerful monarch who would have retained that nation in ſlavery, might have been an appointment acceptable to a grateful people; and that a conſtitution, framed for them by the Deity himſelf, might on that account have been ſecure of an univerſal welcome reception. Yet there were, in every one of the thirteen tribes, ſome diſcontented reſtleſs ſpirits, who were continually exciting them to reject the propoſed new government, and this from various motives.

Many ſtill retained an affection for Egypt, the land of their nativity, and theſe, whenever they felt any inconvenience or hardſhip, through the natural and unavoidable effect of their change of ſituation, exclaimed againſt their leaders as the authors of their trouble; and were not only for returning into Egypt, but for ſtoning their deliverers.* Thoſe inclined to idolatry were diſpleaſed that their golden calf was deſtroyed. Many of the chiefs thought the new conſtitution might be injurious to their particular intereſts, that the profitable places would be *engroſſed by the families and friends*

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* *Numbers, chap. xiv.*

friends of Moses and Aaron, and others equally well-born excluded.*—In Josephus, and the Talmud, we learn some particulars, not so fully narrated in the scripture. We are there told, "that Korah was ambitious of the priesthood; and offended that it was conferred on Aaron; and this, as he said, by the authority of Moses only, *without the consent of the people*. He accused Moses of having, by various artifices, fraudulently obtained the government, and deprived the people of their liberties; and of conspiring with Aaron to perpetuate the tyranny in their family. Thus, though Korah's real motive was the supplanting of Aaron, he persuaded the people that he meant only the public good; and they, moved by his insinuations, began to cry out—"Let us maintain the common liberty of our *respective tribes;* we have freed ourselves from the slavery imposed upon us by the Egyptians, and shall we suffer ourselves to be made slaves by Moses? If we must have a master, it were better to return to Pharaoh, who at least fed us with bread and onions, than to serve this new tyrant, who by his operations has brought us into danger of famine." Then they called in question the *reality of his conference* with God; and objected to the privacy of the meetings, and the preventing any of the people from being present at the colloquies, or even approaching the place, as grounds of great suspicion. They accused Moses also of *peculation;* as embezzling part of the golden spoons and the silver chargers, that the princes had offered at the dedication of the altar,† and the offerings of the gold of the common people,‡ as well as most

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* *Numbers, chap. xvi. ver.* 3. "*And they gathered themselves together against Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregations are holy, every one of them—wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation?*"

† *Numbers, ch. vii.* ‡ *Exodus, ch. xxxv. ver.* 22.

moſt of the poll tax ;* and Aaron they accuſed of pocketing much of the gold of which he pretended to have made a molten calf. Beſides peculation, they charged Moſes with *ambition ;* to gratify which paſſion, he had, they ſaid, deceived the people, by promiſing to bring them to a land flowing with milk and honey; inſtead of doing which, he had brought them *from* ſuch a land; and that he thought light of this miſchief, provided he could make himſelf an *abſolute prince.*† That, to ſupport the new dignity with ſplendor in his family, the partial poll-tax already levied and given to Aaron‡ was to be followed by a general one‖, which would probably be augmented from time to time, if he were ſuffered to go on promulgating new laws on pretence of new occaſional revelations of the divine will, till their whole fortunes were devoured by that ariſtocracy."

Moſes denied the charge of peculation; and his accuſers were deſtitute of proofs to ſupport it; though *facts*, if real, are in their nature capable of proof. "I have not," ſaid he, (with holy confidence in the preſence of God) "I have not taken from this people the value of an aſs, nor done them any other injury."— But his enemies had made the charge, and with ſome ſucceſs among the populace; for no kind of accuſation is ſo readily made, or eaſily believed, by knaves, as the accuſation of knavery.

In fine, no leſs than two hundred and fifty of the principal men, "famous in the congregation, men of renown,

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* *Numbers, ch. iii. and Exodus, ch. xxx.*

† *Numbers, ch. xvi. ver.* 13. "*Is it a ſmall thing that thou haſt brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderneſs, except thou make thyſelf altogether a prince over us?*"

‡ *Numbers, ch. iii.* ‖ *Exodus, ch. xxx.*

renown,"* heading and exciting the mob, working them up to such a pitch of phrensy, that they called out, stone 'em, stone 'em, and thereby secure our liberties; and let us choose other captains that may lead us back into Egypt, in case we do not succeed in reducing the Canaanites.

On the whole, it appears that the Israelites were a people jealous of their newly acquired liberty, which jealousy was in itself no fault; but that when they suffered it to be worked upon by artful men, pretending public good, with nothing really in view but private interest, they were led to oppose the establishment of the new constitution, whereby they brought upon themselves much inconvenience and misfortune. It farther appears from the same inestimable history, that when, after many ages, the constitution had become old and much abused, and an amendment of it was proposed, the populace, as they had accused Moses of the ambition of making himself a prince, and cried out, stone him, stone him; so, excited by their high-priests and scribes, they exclaimed against the Messiah, that he aimed at becoming king of the Jews, and cried, crucify him, crucify him. From all which we may gather, that popular opposition to a public measure, is no proof of its impropriety, even though the opposition be excited and headed by men of distinction.

To conclude, I beg I may not be understood to infer, that our general convention was divinely inspired when it formed the new federal constitution, merely because that constitution has been unreasonably and vehemently opposed: yet, I must own, I have so much faith in the general government of the world by Providence, that I can hardly conceive a transaction of such momentous importance to the welfare of millions now existing, and to exist in the posterity of a great nation, should be suffered to pass without being in some degree influenced, guided, and governed by that omnipotent,

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* *Numbers, chap. xvi.*

potent, omnipresent and beneficent Ruler, in whom all inferior spirits live, and move, and have their being.

THE INTERNAL STATE OF AMERICA,

Being a true Description of the Interest and Policy of that vast Continent.

THERE is a tradition, that, in the planting of New-England, the first settlers met with many difficulties and hardships; as is generally the case when a civilized people attempt establishing themselves in a wilderness country. Being piously disposed, they sought relief from Heaven, by laying their wants and distresses before the Lord, in frequent set days of fasting and prayer. Constant meditation and discourse on these subjects kept their minds gloomy and discontented; and, like the children of Israel, there were many disposed to return to that Egypt which persecution had induced them to abandon. At length, when it was proposed in the assembly to proclaim another fast, a farmer of plain sense rose, and remarked, that the inconveniences they suffered, and concerning which they had so often wearied Heaven with their complaints, were not so great as they might have expected, and were diminishing every day, as the colony strengthened; that the earth began to reward their labour, and to furnish liberally for their subsistence; that the seas and rivers were found full of fish, the air sweet, and the climate healthy; and, above all, that they were there in the full enjoyment of liberty, civil and religious: he therefore thought, that reflecting and conversing on

on theſe ſubjects would be more comfortable, as tending more to make them contented with their ſituation; and that it would be more becoming the gratitude they owed to the Divine Being, if, inſtead of a faſt, they ſhould proclaim a thankſgiving. His advice was taken, and from that day to this they have, in every year, obſerved circumſtances of public felicity ſufficient to furniſh employment for a thankſgiving day, which is therefore conſtantly ordered and religiouſly obſerved.

I ſee in the public newſpapers of different ſtates frequent complaints of *hard times*, *deadness of trade*, *ſcarcity of money*, &c. &c. It is not my intention to aſſert or maintain that theſe complaints are entirely without foundation. There can be no country or nation exiſting, in which there will not be ſome people ſo circumſtanced as to find it hard to gain a livelihood; people who are not in the way of any profitable trade, and with whom money is ſcarce, becauſe they have nothing to give in exchange for it; and it is always in the power of a ſmall number to make a great clamour. But let us take a cool view of the general ſtate of our affairs, and perhaps the proſpect will appear leſs gloomy than has been imagined.

The great buſineſs of the continent is agriculture. For one artiſan, or merchant, I ſuppoſe, we have at leaſt one hundred farmers, and by far the greateſt part cultivators of their own fertile lands, from whence many of them draw not only food neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, but the materials of their clothing, ſo as to need very few foreign ſupplies; while they have a ſurplus of productions to diſpoſe of, whereby wealth is gradually accumulated. Such has been the goodneſs of Divine Providence to theſe regions, and ſo favourable the climate, that, ſince the three or four years of hardſhip in the firſt ſettlement of our fathers here, a famine or ſcarcity has never been heard of amongſt us; on the contrary, though ſome years may have been more, and others leſs plentiful, there has always been proviſion enough for ourſelves, and a quantity to

ſpare

ſpare for exportation. And although the crops of laſt year were generally good, never was the farmer better paid for the part he can ſpare commerce, as the publiſhed price currents abundantly teſtify. The lands he poſſeſſes are alſo continually riſing in value with the increaſe of population; and, on the whole, he is enabled to give ſuch good wages to thoſe who work for him, that all who are acquainted with the old world muſt agree, that in no part of it are the labouring poor ſo generally well fed, well clothed, well lodged, and well paid, as in the United States of America.

If we enter the cities, we find that, ſince the revolution, the owners of houſes and lots of ground have had their intereſt vaſtly augmented in value; rents have riſen to an aſtoniſhing height, and thence encouragement to increaſe building, which gives employment to an abundance of workmen, as does alſo the increaſed luxury and ſplendour of living of the inhabitants thus made richer. Theſe workmen all demand and obtain much higher wages than any other part of the world could afford them, and are paid in ready money. This rank of people therefore do not, or ought not, to complain of hard times; and they make a very conſiderable part of the city inhabitants.

At the diſtance I live from our American fiſheries, I cannot ſpeak of them with any degree of certainty; but I have not heard that the labour of the valuable race of men employed in them is worſe paid, or that they meet with leſs ſucceſs, than before the revolution. The whale-men, indeed have been deprived of one market for their oil; but another, I hear, is opening for them, which it is hoped may be equally advantageous; and the demand is conſtantly increaſing for their ſpermaceti candles, which there bear a much higher price than formerly.

There remain the merchants and ſhop-keepers. Of theſe, though they make but a ſamll part of the whole nation, the number is conſiderable, too great indeed for the buſineſs they are employed in; for the conſumption of goods in every country has its limits; the faculties

culties of the people, that is, their ability to buy and pay, is equal only to a certain quantity of merchandiſe. If merchants calculate amiſs on their proportion and import too much, they will of courſe find the ſale dull for the overplus, and ſome of them will ſay that trade languiſhes. They ſhould, and doubtleſs will, grow wiſer by experience, and import leſs. If too many artificers in town, and farmers from the country, flattering themſelves with the idea of leading eaſier lives, turn ſhop-keepers, the whole natural quantity of that buſineſs divided among them all may afford too ſmall a ſhare for each, and occaſion complaints that trading is dead; theſe may alſo ſuppoſe that it is owing to ſcarcity of money, while in fact, it is not ſo much from the fewneſs of buyers, as from the exceſſive number of ſellers, that the miſchief ariſes; and, if every ſhop-keeping farmer and mechanic would return to the uſe of his plough and working tools, there would remain of widows, and other women, ſhop-keepers ſufficient for the buſineſs, which might then afford them a comfortable maintenance.

Whoever has travelled through the various parts of Europe, and obſerved how ſmall is the proportion of people in affluence or eaſy circumſtances there, compared with thoſe in poverty and miſery; the few rich and haughty landlords, the multitude of poor, abject, rack-rented, tythe-paying tenants, and half-paid and half-ſtarved ragged labourers; and views here the happy mediocrity that ſo generally prevails throughout theſe ſtates, where the cultivator works for himſelf, and ſupports his family in decent plenty; will, methinks, ſee abundant reaſon to bleſs Divine Providence for the evident and great difference in our favour, and be convinced that no nation known to us enjoys a greater ſhare of human felicity.

It is true, that in ſome of the ſtates there are parties and diſcords; but let us look back, and aſk if we were ever without them? Such will exiſt wherever there is liberty; and perhaps they help to preſerve it. By the colliſion of different ſentiments, ſparks of truth are ſtruck

ſtruck out, and political light is obtained. The different factions, which at preſent divide us, aim all at the public good; the differences are only about the various modes of promoting it. Things, actions, meaſures, and objects of all kinds, preſent themſelves to the minds of men in ſuch a variety of lights, that it is not poſſible we ſhould all think alike at the ſame time on every ſubject, when hardly the ſame man retains at all times the ſame ideas of it. Parties are therefore the common lot of humanity; and ours are by no means more miſchievous or leſs beneficial than thoſe of other countries, nations, and ages, enjoying in the ſame degree the great bleſſing of political liberty.

Some indeed among us are not ſo much grieved for the preſent ſtate of our affairs, as apprehenſive for the future. The growth of luxury alarms them, and they think we are from that alone in the high road to ruin. They obſerve, that no revenue is ſufficient without œconomy, and that the moſt plentiful income of a whole people from the natural productions of their country may be diſſipated in vain and needleſs expences, and poverty be introduced in the place of affluence.—This may be poſſible. It however rarely happens: for there ſeems to be in every nation a greater proportion of induſtry and frugality, which tend to enrich, than of idleneſs and prodigality, which occaſion poverty; ſo that upon the whole there is a continual accumulation. Reflect what Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain were in the time of the Romans, inhabited by people little richer than our ſavages, and conſider the wealth they at preſent poſſeſs, in numerous well-built cities, improved farms, rich moveables, magazines ſtocked with valuable manufactures, to ſay nothing of plate, jewels, and coined money; and all this, notwithſtanding their bad, waſteful, plundering governments, and their mad deſtructive wars; and yet luxury and extravagant living has never ſuffered much reſtraint in thoſe countries. Then conſider the great proportion of induſtrious frugal farmers inhabiting the interior

interior parts of these American states, and of whom the body of our nation consists, and judge whether it is possible that the luxury of our sea-ports can be sufficient to ruin such a country.—If the importation of foreign luxuries could ruin a people, we should probably have been ruined long ago; for the British nation claimed a right, and practised it, of importing among us not only the superfluities of their own production, but those of every nation under heaven; we bought and consumed them, and yet we flourished and grew rich. At present our independent governments may do what we could not then do, discourage by heavy duties, or prevent by heavy prohibitions, such importations, and thereby grow richer;—If, indeed, which may admit of dispute, the desire of adorning ourselves with fine clothes, possessing fine furniture, with elegant houses, &c. is not, by strongly inciting to labour and industry, the occasion of producing a greater value than is consumed in the gratification of that desire.

The agriculture and fisheries of the United States are the great sources of our increasing wealth. He that puts a seed into the earth is recompensed, perhaps by receiving forty out of it; and he who draws a fish out of our water, draws up a piece of silver.

Let us (and there is no doubt but we shall) be attentive to these, and then the power of rivals, with all their restraining and prohibiting acts, cannot much hurt us. We are sons of the earth and seas, and, like Antæus in the fable, if in wrestling with a Hercules we now and then receive a fall, the touch of our parents will communicate to us fresh strength and vigour to renew the contest.

INFORMATION

TO THOSE WHO WOULD

REMOVE TO AMERICA.

MANY perſons in Europe having, directly or by letters, expreſſed to the writer of this, who is well acquainted with North America, their deſire of tranſporting and eſtabliſhing themſelves in that country; but who appear to him to have formed, through ignorance, miſtaken ideas and expectations of what is to be obtained there; he thinks it may be uſeful, and prevent inconvenient, expenſive, and fruitleſs removals and voyages of improper perſons, if he gives ſome clearer and truer notions of that part of the world, than have hitherto prevailed.

He finds it imagined by numbers, that the inhabitants of North America are rich, capable of rewarding, and diſpoſed to reward, all ſorts of ingenuity; that they are at the ſame time ignorant of all the ſciences, and conſequently that ſtrangers poſſeſſing talents in the belles-lettres, fine arts, &c. muſt be highly eſteemed, and ſo well paid as to become eaſily rich themſelves; that there are alſo abundance of profitable offices to be diſpoſed of, which the natives are not qualified to fill; and that having few perſons of family among them, ſtrangers of birth muſt be greatly reſpected, and of courſe eaſily obtain the beſt of thoſe offices, which will make all their fortunes; that the governments, to encourage emigration from Europe, not only pay the expence of their perſonal tranſportation, but give lands gratis to ſtrangers, with negroes

to

to work for them, utenſils of huſbandry, and ſtocks of cattle. Theſe are all wild imaginations; and thoſe who go to America with expectations founded upon them, will ſurely find themſelves diſappointed.

The truth is, that though there are in that country few people ſo miſerable as the poor of Europe, there are alſo few that in Europe would be called rich: it is rather a general happy mediocrity that prevails. There are few great proprietors of the ſoil, and few tenants; moſt people cultivate their own lands, or follow ſome handicraft or merchandize; very few rich enough to live idly upon their rents or incomes, or to pay the high prices given in Europe, for painting, ſtatues, architecture and the other works of art that are more curious, than uſeful. Hence the natural geniuſes that have ariſen in America, with ſuch talents, have uniformly quitted that country for Europe, where they can be more ſuitably rewarded. It is true that letters and mathematical knowledge are in eſteem there, but they are at the ſame time more common than is apprehended; there being already exiſting nine colleges, or univerſities, viz. four in New-England, and one in each of the provinces of New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, all furniſhed with learned profeſſors; beſides a number of ſmaller academies: theſe educate many of their youth in the languages, and thoſe ſciences that qualify men for the profeſſions of divinity, law, or phyſic. Strangers indeed are by no means excluded from exerciſing theſe profeſſions; and the quick increaſe of inhabitants every where gives them a chance of employ, which they have in common with the natives. Of civil offices, or employments, there are few; no ſuperfluous ones as in Europe; and it is a rule eſtabliſhed in ſome of the ſtates, that no office ſhould be ſo profitable as to make it deſirable. The 36th article of the conſtitution of Pennſylvania runs expreſsly in theſe words: "As every freeman, to preſerve his independence, (if he has not a ſufficient eſtate) ought to have ſome profeſſion, calling, trade, or farm, whereby he may honeſtly ſubſiſt,

fift, there can be no neceſſity for, nor uſe in, eſtabliſhing offices of profit; the uſual defects of which are dependence and ſervility, unbecoming freemen, in the poſſeſſors and expectants; faction, contention, corruption, and diſorder among the people. Wherefore, wherever an office, through increaſe of fees or otherwiſe, becomes ſo profitable as to occaſion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be leſſened by the legiſlature."

Theſe ideas prevailing more or leſs in all the United States, it cannot be worth any man's while, who has a means of living at home, to expatriate himſelf in hopes of obtaining a profitable civil office in America; and as to military offices, they are at an end with the war, the armies being diſbanded. Much leſs is it adviſeable for a perſon to go thither, who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe, it has indeed its value; but it is a commodity that cannot be carried to a worſe market than to that of America, where people do not enquire concerning a ſtranger, *What is he?* but *What can he do?* If he has any uſeful art, he is welcome; and if he exerciſes it, and behaves well, he will be reſpected by all that know him; but a mere man of quality, who on that account wants to live upon the public by ſome office or ſalary, will be deſpiſed and diſregarded. The huſbandman is in honour there, and even the mechanic, becauſe their employments are uſeful. The people have a ſaying, that God Almighty is himſelf a mechanic, the greateſt in the univerſe; and he is reſpected and admired more for the variety, ingenuity, and utility of his handyworks, than for the antiquity of his family. They are pleaſed with the obſervation of a negro, and frequently mention it, that Boccarorra (meaning the white man) make de black man workee, make de horſe workee, make de ox workee, make ebery ting workee; only de hog. He de hog, no workee; he eat, he drink, he walk about, he go to ſleep when he pleaſe, he libb like a gentleman. According to theſe opinions of the Americans, one of them

them would think himſelf more obliged to a genealogiſt, who could prove for him that his anceſtors and relations for ten generations had been ploughmen, ſmiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, tanners, or even ſhoemakers, and conſequently that they were uſeful members of ſociety; than if he could only prove that they were gentlemen, doing nothing of value, but living idly on the labour of others, mere *fruges conſumere nati*,* and otherwiſe *good* for *nothing*, till by their death their eſtates, like the carcaſe of the negro's gentleman hog, come to be *cut up*.

With regard to encouragements for ſtrangers from government, they are really only what are derived from good laws and liberty. Strangers are welcome becauſe there is room enough for them all, and therefore the old inhabitants are not jealous of them; the laws protect them ſufficiently, ſo that they have no need of the patronage of great men; and every one will enjoy ſecurely the profits of his induſtry. But if he does not bring a fortune with him, he muſt work and be induſtrious to live. One or two years reſidence give him all the rights of a citizen; but the government does not at preſent, whatever it may have done in former times, hire people to become ſettlers, by paying their paſſages, giving land, negroes, utenſils, ſtock, or any other kind of emolument whatſoever.—In ſhort, America is the land of labour, and by no means what the Engliſh call *Lubberland*, and the French *Pays de Cocagne*, where the ſtreets are ſaid to be paved with half-peck loaves, the houſes tiled with pancakes, and where the fowls fly about ready roaſted, crying, *Come eat me!*

Who then are the kind of perſons to whom an emigration to America would be advantageous? And what are the advantages they may reaſonably expect?

Land

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* - - - - *born*
Merely to eat up the corn. *Watts.*

Land being cheap in that country from the vaſt foreſts ſtill void of inhabitants, and not likely to be occupied in an age to come, inſomuch that the property of an hundred acres of fertile ſoil full of wood may be obtained near the frontiers, in many places, for eight or ten guineas, hearty young labouring men, who underſtand the huſbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the ſame in that country as in Europe, may eaſily eſtabliſh themſelves there. A little money ſaved of the good wages they receive there while they work for others, enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they are aſſiſted by the good will of their neighbours, and ſome credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, have by this means in a few years become wealthy farmers, who in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied and the wages of labour low, could never have emerged from the mean condition wherein they were born.

From the ſalubrity of the air, the healthineſs of the climate, the plenty of good proviſions, and the encouragement to early marriages, by the certainty of ſubſiſtence in cultivating the earth, the increaſe of inhabitants by natural generation is very rapid in America, and becomes ſtill more ſo by the acceſſion of ſtrangers; hence there is a continual demand for more artiſans of all the neceſſary and uſeful kinds, to ſupply thoſe cultivators of the earth with houſes, and with furniture and utenſils of the groſſer ſorts, which cannot ſo well be brought from Europe. Tolerable good workmen in any of thoſe mechanic arts, are ſure to find employ, and to be well paid for their work, there being no reſtraints preventing ſtrangers from exerciſing any art they underſtand, nor any permiſſion neceſſary. If they are poor, they begin firſt as ſervants or journeymen; and if they are ſober, induſtrious, and frugal, they ſoon become maſters, eſtabliſh themſelves in buſineſs, marry, raiſe families, and become reſpectable citizens.

Alſo

Alſo, perſons of moderate fortunes and capitals, who having a number of children to provide for, are deſirous of bringing them up to induſtry, and to ſecure eſtates for their poſterity, have opportunities of doing it in America, which Europe does not afford. There they may be taught and practiſe profitable mechanic arts without incurring diſgrace on that account; but on the contrary acquiring reſpect by ſuch abilities. There ſmall capitals laid out in lands, which daily become more valuable by the increaſe of people, afford a ſolid proſpect of ample fortunes thereafter for thoſe children. The writer of this has known ſeveral inſtances of large tracts of land, bought on what was then the frontier of Pennſylvania, for ten pounds per hundred acres, which, after twenty years, when the ſettlements had been extended far beyond them, ſold readily, without any improvement made upon them, for three pounds per acre. The acre in America is the ſame with the Engliſh acre, or the acre of Normandy.

Thoſe who deſire to underſtand the ſtate of government in America, would do well to read the conſtitutions of the ſeveral ſtates, and the articles of confederation that bind the whole together for general purpoſes, under the direction of one aſſembly, called the Congreſs. Theſe conſtitutions have been printed, by order of Congreſs, in America; two editions of them have alſo been printed in London; and a good tranſlation of them into French, has lately been publiſhed at Paris.

Several of the princes of Europe having of late, from an opinion of advantage to ariſe by producing all commodities and manufactures within their own dominions, ſo as to diminiſh or render uſeleſs their importations, have endeavoured to entice workmen from other countries, by high ſalaries, privileges, &c. Many perſons pretending to be ſkilled in various great manufactures, imagining that America, muſt be in want of them, and that the Congreſs would probably be diſpoſed to imitate the princes above mentioned, have

have propoſed to go over, on condition of having their paſſages paid, lands given, ſalaries appointed, excluſive privileges for terms of years, &c. Such perſons, on reading the articles of confederation, will find that the Congreſs have no power committed to them, or money put into their hands for ſuch purpoſes; and that if any ſuch encouragement is given, it muſt be by the government of ſome particular ſtate. This however, has rarely been done in America; and when it has been done, it has rarely ſucceeded ſo as to eſtabliſh a manufacture, which the country was not yet ſo ripe for as to encourage private perſons to ſet it up, labour being generally too dear there, and hands difficult to be kept together, every one deſiring to be a maſter, and the cheapneſs of land inclining many to leave trades for agriculture. Some indeed have met with ſucceſs, and are carried on to advantage; but they are generally ſuch as require only a few hands, or wherein great part of the work is performed by machines. Goods that are bulky, and of ſo ſmall value as not well to bear the expence of freight, may often be made cheaper in that country than they can be imported; and the manufacture of ſuch goods will be profitable wherever there is a ſufficient demand. The farmers in America produce, indeed, a good deal of wool and flax; and none is exported, it is all worked up; but it is in the way of domeſtic manufacture, for the uſe of the family. The buying up quantities of wool and flax, with the deſign to employ ſpinners, weavers, &c. and form great eſtabliſhments, producing quantities of linen and woolen goods for ſale, has been ſeveral times attempted in different provinces; but thoſe projects have generally failed, goods of equal value being imported cheaper. And when the governments have been ſolicited to ſupport ſuch ſchemes by encouragements, in money, or by impoſing duties on importation of ſuch goods, it has been generally refuſed, on this principle, that if the country is ripe for the manufacture, it may be carried on by private perſons to advantage; and if not, it is a folly to think

of

of forcing nature. Great eſtabliſhments of manufacture, require great numbers of poor to do the work for ſmall wages; thoſe poor are to be found in Europe, but will not be found in America, till the lands are all taken up and cultivated, and the exceſs of people who cannot get land want employment. The manufacture of ſilk, they ſay, is natural in France, as that of cloth in England, becauſe each country produces in plenty the firſt material: but if England will have a manufacture of ſilk as well as that of cloth, and France of cloth as well as that of ſilk, theſe unnatural operations muſt be ſupported by mutual prohibitions, or high duties on the importation of each other's goods; by which means the workmen are enabled to tax the home conſumer by greater prices, while the higher wages they receive makes them neither happier nor richer, ſince they only drink more and work leſs. Therefore the governments of America do nothing to encourage ſuch projects. The people, by this means, are not impoſed on, either by the merchant or mechanic: if the merchant demands too much profit on imported ſhoes, they buy of the ſhoemaker; and if he aſks too high a price, they take them of the merchant; thus the two profeſſions are checks on each other. The ſhoemaker, however, has, on the whole, a conſiderable profit upon his labour in America, beyond what he had in Europe, as he can add to his price a ſum nearly equal to all the expences of freight and commiſſion, riſque or inſurance, &c. neceſſarily charged by the merchant. And it is the ſame with every other mechanic art. Hence it is, that artiſans generally live better and more eaſily in America than in Europe; and ſuch as are good œconomiſts make a comfortable proviſion for age, and for their children. Such may, therefore, remove with advantage to America.

In the old long-ſettled countries of Europe, all arts, trades, profeſſions, farms, &c. are ſo full, that it is difficult for a poor man who has children to place them where they may gain, or learn to gain, a decent livelihood. The artiſans, who fear creating future rivals

rivals in business, refuse to take apprentices, but upon conditions of money, maintenance, or the like, which the parents are unable to comply with. Hence the youth are dragged up in ignorance of every gainful art, and obliged to become soldiers, or servants, or thieves, for a subsistence. In America, the rapid increase of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalship, and artisans willingly receive apprentices from the hope of profit by their labour, during the remainder of the time stipulated, after they shall be instructed. Hence it is easy for poor families to get their children instructed; for the artisans are so desirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents, to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them, till the age of twenty-one; and many poor parents have, by that means, on their arrival in the country, raised money enough to buy land sufficient to establish themselves, and to subsist the rest of their family by agriculture.

These contracts of apprentices are made before a magistrate, who regulates the agreement according to reason and justice; and having in view the formation of a future useful citizen, obliges the master to engage by a written indenture, not only that, during the time of service stipulated, the apprentice shall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging, and at its expiration with a complete new suit of clothes, but also that he shall be taught to read, write, and cast accounts; and that he shall be well instructed in the art or profession of his master, or some other, by which he may afterwards gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raise a family. A copy of this indenture is given to the apprentice or his friends, and the magistrate keeps a record of it, to which recourse may be had, in case of failure by the master in any point of performance. This desire among the masters to have more hands employed in working for them, induces them to pay the passages of young persons, of both sexes, who, on their arrival, agree to serve them one, two, three, or four years: those who have already learned

ed a trade, agreeing for a ſhorter term, in proportion to their ſkill, and the conſequent immediate value of their ſervice; and thoſe who have none, agreeing for a longer term, in conſideration of being taught an art their poverty would not permit them to acquire in their own country.

The almoſt general mediocrity of fortune that prevails in America, obliging its people to follow ſome buſineſs for ſubſiſtence, thoſe vices that riſe uſually from idleneſs, are in a great meaſure prevented. Induſtry and conſtant employment are great preſervatives of the morals and virtue of a nation. Hence bad examples to youth are more rare in America, which muſt be a comfortable conſideration to parents. To this may be truly added, that ſerious religion, under its various denominations, is not only tolerated, but reſpected and practiſed. Atheiſm is unknown there; infidelity rare and ſecret; ſo that perſons may live to a great age in that country without having their piety ſhocked by meeting either with an atheiſt or an infidel. And the Divine Being ſeems to have manifeſted his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindneſs with which the different ſects treat each other, by the remarkable proſperity with which he has been pleaſed to favour the whole country.

FINAL SPEECH
OF
DR. FRANKLIN,
*IN THE LATE FEDERAL CONVENTION.**

MR. PRESIDENT,

I CONFESS that I do not entirely approve of this conſtitution at preſent: but, Sir, I am not ſure I ſhall

* *Our reaſons for aſcribing this ſpeech to Dr. Franklin, are internal evidence, and its having appeared with his name, during his life time, uncontradicted, in an American periodical publication.*

never approve it; for having lived long, I have experienced many inſtances of being obliged by better information, or further conſideration, to change opinions even on important ſubjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwiſe. It is, therefore, that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and pay more reſpect to the judgment of others. Moſt men, indeed, as well as moſt ſects of religion, think themſelves in poſſeſſion of all truth, and that whenever others differ from them, it is ſo far error. Steel, a proteſtant, in a dedication, tells the pope, that "the only difference between our two churches, in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrines, is, the Romiſh church is infallible, and the church of England never in the wrong." But, though many private perſons think almoſt as highly of their own infallibility as of that of their ſect, few expreſs it ſo naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a little diſpute with her ſiſter, ſaid, I don't know how it happens, ſiſter, but I meet with nobody but myſelf that is always in the right. *Il n'y a que moi qui a toujours raison.* In theſe ſentiments, Sir, I agree to this conſtitution, with all its faults, if they are ſuch; becauſe I think a general government neceſſary for us, and there is no form of government, but what may be a bleſſing, if well adminiſtered; and I believe farther, that this is likely to be well adminiſtered for a courſe of years, and can only end in deſpotiſm, as other forms have done before it, when the people ſhall become ſo corrupted as to need deſpotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt too, whether any other convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better conſtitution. For when you aſſemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wiſdom, you aſſemble with thoſe men, all their prejudices, their paſſions, their errors of opinion, their local intereſts, and their ſelfiſh views. From ſuch an aſſembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore aſtoniſhes me, Sir, to find this ſyſtem approaching ſo near to perfection as it does; and I think it will aſtoniſh our enemies,

enemies, who are waiting with confidence, to hear that our councils are confounded, like those of the builders of Babylon, and that our states are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting each other's throats.

Thus I consent, Sir, to this constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that this is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors, I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born; and here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavour to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favour among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real and apparent unanimity. Much of the strength or efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion; on the general opinion of the goodness of that government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors.

I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it well administered.

On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish, that every member of the convention, who may still have objections, would with me on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and, to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument.

[The motion was then made for adding the last formula, viz.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent, &c. which was agreed to, and added accordingly.]

SKETCH OF AN ENGLISH SCHOOL.

*For the Consideration of the Trustees of the Philadelphia Academy.**

IT is expected that every scholar to be admitted into this school, be at least able to pronounce and divide the syllables in reading, and to write a legible hand. None to be received that are under years of age.

FIRST, OR LOWER CLASS.

Let the first class learn the English Grammar rules, and at the same time let particular care be taken to improve them in orthography. Perhaps the latter is best done by pairing the scholars; two of those nearest equal in their spelling to be put together. Let these strive for victory; each propounding ten words every day to the other to be spelled. He that spells truly most of the other's words, is victor for that day; he that is victor most days in a month, to obtain a prize, a pretty neat book of some kind, useful in their future studies. This method fixes the attention of children extremely to the orthography of words, and makes them good spellers very early. It is a shame for a man to be so ignorant of this little art, in his own language, as to be perpetually confounding words of like sound and different significations; the consciousness of which defect makes some men, otherwise of good learning and understanding, averse to writing even a common letter.

Let the pieces read by the scholars in this class be short; such as Croxal's fables, and little stories. In giving the lesson, let it be read to them; let the mean-

This piece did not come to hand till the volume had been some time at the press. This was the case also with several other papers, and must be our apology for any defect that may appear in the arrangement.

ing of the difficult words in it be explained to them; and let them con over by themſelves before they are called to read to the maſter or uſher; who is to take particular care that they do not read too faſt, and that they duly obſerve the ſtops and pauſes. A vocabulary of the moſt uſual difficult words might be formed for their uſe, with explanations; and they might daily get a few of thoſe words and explanations by heart, which would a little exerciſe their memories; or at leaſt they might write a number of them in a ſmall book for the purpoſe, which would help to fix the meaning of thoſe words in their minds, and at the ſame time furniſh every one with a little dictionary for his future uſe.

THE SECOND CLASS

To be taught reading with attention, and with proper modulations of the voice; according to the ſentiment and ſubject.

Some ſhort pieces, not exceeding the length of a Spectator, to be given this claſs for leſſons (and ſome of the eaſier Spectators would be very ſuitable for the purpoſe). Theſe leſſons might be given every night as taſks; the ſcholars to ſtudy them againſt the morning. Let it then be required of them to give an account, firſt of the parts of ſpeech, and conſtruction of one or two ſentences. This will oblige them frequently to recur to their grammar, and fix its principal rules in their memory. Next, of the intention of the writer, or the ſcope of the piece, the meaning of each ſentence, and of every uncommon word. This would early acquaint them with the meaning and force of words, and give them that moſt neceſſary habit of reading with attention.

The maſter then to read the piece with the proper modulations of voice, due emphaſis, and ſuitable action, where action is required, and put the youth on imitating his manner.

Where the author has uſed an expreſſion not the beſt, let it be pointed out; and let his beauties be particularly remarked to the youth.

Let the leſſons for reading be varied, that the youth may be made acquainted with good ſtyles of all kinds in proſe and verſe, and the proper manner of reading

each kind—ſometimes a well-told ſtory, a piece of a ſermon, a general's ſpeech to his ſoldiers, a ſpeech in a tragedy, ſome part of a comedy, an ode, a ſatire, a letter, blank verſe, Hudibraſtic, heroic, &c. But let ſuch leſſons be choſen for reading, as contain ſome uſeful inſtruction, whereby the underſtanding or morals of the youth may at the ſame time be improved.

It is required that they ſhould firſt ſtudy and underſtand the leſſons, before they are put upon reading them properly; to which end each boy ſhould have an Engliſh dictionary, to help him over difficulties. When our boys read Engliſh to us, we are apt to imagine they underſtand what they read, becauſe we do, and becauſe it is their mother tongue. But they often read, as parrots ſpeak, knowing little or nothing of the meaning. And it is impoſſible a reader ſhould give the due modulation to his voice, and pronounce properly, unleſs his underſtanding goes before his tongue, and makes him maſter of the ſentiment. Accuſtoming boys to read aloud what they do not firſt underſtand, is the cauſe of thoſe even ſet tones ſo common among readers, which when they have once got a habit of uſing, they find ſo difficult to correct; by which means, among fifty readers we ſcarcely find a good one. For want of good readers pieces publiſhed with a view to influence the minds of men, for their own or the public benefit, loſe half their force. Were there but one good reader in a neighbourhood, a public orator might be heard throughout a nation with the ſame advantages, and have the ſame effect upon his audience, as if they ſtood within the reach of his voice.

THE THIRD CLASS

To be taught ſpeaking properly and gracefully; which is near a-kin to good reading, and naturally follows it in the ſtudies of youth. Let the ſcholars of this claſs begin with learning the elements of rhetoric from ſome ſhort ſyſtem, ſo as to be able to give an account of the moſt uſeful tropes and figures. Let all their bad habits of ſpeaking, all offences againſt good grammar, all corrupt or foreign accents, and all improper phraſes, be pointed out to them. Short ſpeeches from the Roman or other hiſtory, or from the par-

liamentary debates, might be got by heart, and delivered with the proper action, &c. Speeches and scenes in our best tragedies and comedies (avoiding things that could injure the morals of youth) might likewise be got by rote, and the boys exercised in delivering or acting them: great care being taken to form their manner after the truest models.

For their farther improvement, and a little to vary their studies, let them now begin to read history, after having got by heart a short table of the principal epochas in chronology. They may begin with Rollin's ancient and Roman histories, and proceed at proper hours, as they go through the subsequent classes, with the best histories of our own nation and colonies. Let emulation be excited among the boys, by giving, weekly, little prizes, or other small encouragements, to those who are able to give the best account of what they have read, as to times, places, names of persons, &c. This will make them read with attention, and imprint the history well in their memories. In remarking on the history, the master will have fine opportunities of instilling instruction of various kinds, and improving the morals, as well as the understandings, of youth.

The natural and mechanic history, contained in the *Spectacle de la Nature*, might also be begun in this class, and continued through the subsequent classes, by other books of the same kind; for, next to the knowledge of duty, this kind of knowledge is certainly the most useful, as well as the most entertaining.—The merchant may thereby be enabled better to understand many commodities in trade; the handicraftman to improve his business by new instruments, mixtures and materials; and frequently hints are given for new manufactures or new methods of improving land, that may be set on foot greatly to the advantage of the country.

THE FOURTH CLASS

To be taught composition. Writing one's own language well, is the next necessary accomplishment after good speaking. It is the writing-master's business to take care that the boys make fair characters, and place them straight and even in the lines: but to

form their ſtyle, and even to take care that the ſtops and capitals are properly diſpoſed, is the part of the Engliſh maſter. The boys ſhould be put on writing letters to each other other on any common occurrences, and on various ſubjects, imaginary buſineſs, &c. containing little ſtories, accounts of their late reading, what parts of authors pleaſe them, and why; letters of congratulation, of compliment, of requeſt, of thanks, of recommendation, of admonition, of conſolation, expoſtulation, excuſe, &c. In theſe they ſhould be taught to expreſs themſelves clearly, concifely and naturally, without affected words or high-flown phraſes. All their letters to paſs through the maſter's hand, who is to point out the faults, adviſe the corrections, and commend what he finds right. Some of the beſt letters publiſhed in our own language, as Sir W. Temple's, thoſe of Pope and his friends, and ſome others, might be ſet before the youth as models, their beauties pointed out and explained by the maſter, the letters themſelves tranſcribed by the ſcholar.

Dr. Johnſon's *Ethices Elementa*, or Firſt Principles of Morality, may now be read by the ſcholars, and explained by the maſter, to lay a ſolid foundation of virtue and piety in their minds. And as this claſs continues the reading of hiſtory, let them now, at proper hours, receive ſome farther inſtruction in chronology, and in that part of geography (from the mathematical maſter) which is neceſſary to underſtand the maps and globes. They ſhould alſo be acquainted with the modern names of the places they find mentioned in ancient writers. The exerciſes of good reading, and proper ſpeaking ſtill continued at ſuitable times.

FIFTH CLASS.

To improve the youth in compoſition, they may now, beſides continuing to write letters, begin to write little eſſays in proſe, and ſometimes in verſe; not to make them poets, but for this reaſon, that nothing acquaints a lad ſo ſpeedily with variety of expreſſion, as the neceſſity of finding ſuch words and phraſes as will ſuit the meaſure, ſound and rhime of verſe, and at the ſame time well expreſs the ſentiment. Theſe eſſays ſhould all paſs under the maſter's eye, who will point

out their faults, and put the writer on correcting them. Where the judgment is not ripe enough for forming new eſſays, let the ſentiments of a Spectator be given, and required to be clothed in the ſcholar's own words; or the circumſtance of ſome good ſtory; the ſcholar to find expreſſion. Let them be put ſometimes on abridging a paragraph of a diffuſe author: ſometimes on dilating or amplifying what is wrote more cloſely. And now let Dr. Johnſon's *Noetica*, or Firſt Principles of Human Knowledge, containing a logic, or art of reaſoning, &c. be read by the youth, and the difficulties that may occur to them be explained by the maſter. The reading of hiſtory, and the exerciſes of good reading and juſt ſpeaking, ſtill continued.

SIXTH CLASS.

In this claſs, beſides continuing the ſtudies of the preceding in hiſtory, rhetoric, logic, moral and natural philoſophy, the beſt Engliſh authors may be read and explained; as Tillotſon, Milton, Locke, Addiſon, Pope, Swift, the higher papers in the Spectator and Guardian, the beſt tranſlations of Homer, Virgil and Horace, of Telemachus, Travels of Cyrus, &c.

Once a year let there be public exerciſes in the hall; the truſtees and citizens preſent. Then let fine gilt books be given as prizes to ſuch boys as diſtinguiſh themſelves, and excel the others in any branch of learning, making three degrees of compariſon: giving the beſt prize to him that performs beſt; a leſs valuable one to him that comes up next to the beſt; and another to the third. Commendations, encouragement, and advice to the reſt; keeping up their hopes, that, by induſtry, they may excel another time. The names of thoſe that obtain the prize, to be yearly printed in a liſt.

The hours of each day are to be divided and diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as that ſome claſſes may be with the writing-maſter improving their hands; others with the mathematical-maſter, learning arithmetic, accounts, geography, uſe of the globes, drawing, mechanics, &c. while the reſt are in the Engliſh ſchool, under the Engliſh maſter's care.

Thus inſtructed, youth will come out of this ſchool fitted for learning any buſineſs, calling, or profeſſion,

except such wherein languages are required; and, though unacquainted with any ancient or foreign tongue, they will be masters of their own, which is of more immediate and general use; and withal will have attained many other valuable accomplishments: the time usually spent in acquiring those languages, often without success, being here employed in laying such a foundation of knowledge and ability, as, properly improved, may qualify them to pass through and execute the several offices of civil life, with advantage and reputation to themselves and country.

The EXAMINATION of DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *before an* AUGUST ASSEMBLY, *relating to the Repeal of the STAMP-ACT, &c.*

Q. WHAT is your name, and place of abode?

A. Franklin, of Philadelphia.

Q. Do the Americans pay any considerable taxes among themselves?

A. Certainly many, and very heavy taxes.

Q. What are the present taxes in Pennsylvania, laid by the laws of the Colony?

A. There are taxes on all estates real and personal, a poll tax, a tax on all offices, professions, trades and businesses, according to their profits; an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirits; and a duty of ten pounds per head on all Negroes imported, with some other duties.

Q. For what purposes are those taxes laid?

A. For the support of the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the heavy debt contracted in the last war.

Q. How long are those taxes to continue?

A. Those for discharging the debt are to continue till 1772, and longer, if the debt should not then be all discharged. The others must always continue.

Q. Was it not expected that the debt would have been ſooner diſcharged?

A. It was, when the peace was made with France and Spain—But a freſh war breaking out with the Indians, a freſh load of debt was incurred, and the taxes, of courſe, continued longer by a new law.

Q. Are not all the people very able to pay thoſe taxes?

A. No. The frontier counties, all along the continent, having been frequently ravaged by the enemy, and greatly impoveriſhed, are able to pay very little tax. And therefore, in conſideration of their diſtreſſes, our late tax laws do expreſsly favour thoſe counties, excuſing the ſufferers; and I ſuppoſe the ſame is done in other governments.

Q. Are not you concerned in the management of the Poſt-Office in America?

A. Yes. I am deputy poſt-maſter general of North America.

Q. Don't you think the diſtribution of ſtamps, by poſt, to all the inhabitants very practicable, if there was no oppoſition?

A. The poſts only go along the ſea coaſts; they do not, except in a few inſtances, go back into the country; and if they did, ſending for ſtamps by poſt would occaſion an expence of poſtage, amounting in many caſes, to much more than that of the ſtamps themſelves.

Q. Are you acquainted with Newfoundland?

A. I never was there.

Q. Do you know whether there are any poſt roads on that iſland?

A. I have heard that there are no roads at all; but that the communication between one ſettlement and another is by ſea only.

Q. Can you diſperſe the ſtamps by poſt in Canada?

A. There is only a poſt between Montreal and Quebec. The inhabitants live ſo ſcattered and remote from each other in that vaſt country, that poſts cannot be ſupported among them, and therefore they cannot get ſtamps per poſt. The Engliſh Colonies too, along the frontiers, are very thinly ſettled.

Q. From the thinneſs of the back ſettlements, would not the ſtamp-act be extremely inconvenient to the inhabitants, if executed?

A. To be sure it would; as many of the inhabitants could not get stamps when they had occasion for them, without taking long journeys, and spending perhaps three or four pounds, that the Crown might get sixpence.

Q. Are not the colonies, from their circumstances, very able to pay the stamp-duty?

A. In my opinion, there is not gold and silver enough in the colonies to pay the stamp duty for one year.

Q. Don't you know that the money arising from the stamps was all to be laid out in America?

A. I know it is appropriated by the act to the American service; but it will be spent in the conquered colonies, where the soldiers are, not in the colonies that pay it.

Q. Is there not a balance of trade due from the colonies where the troops are posted, that will bring back the money to the old colonies?

A. I think not. I believe very little would come back. I know of no trade likely to bring it back. I think it would come from the colonies where it was sent directly to England; for I have always observed, that in every colony the more plenty the means of remittance to England, the more goods are sent for, and the more trade with England carried on.

Q. What number of white inhabitants do you think there are in Pennsylvania?

A. I suppose there may be about 160,000.

Q. What number of them are Quakers?

A. Perhaps a third.

Q. What number of Germans?

A. Perhaps another third; but I cannot speak with certainty.

Q. Have any numbers of the Germans seen service, as soldiers in Europe?

A. Yes,—many of them, both in Europe and America.

Q. Are they as much dissatisfied with the stamp duty as the English?

A. Yes, and more; and with reason, as their stamps are, in many cases, to be double.

Q. How many white men do you suppose there are in North America?

A. About 300,000, from ſixteen to ſixty years of age.

Q. What may be the amount of one year's imports into Pennſylvania from Britain?

A. I have been informed that our merchants compute the imports from Britain to be above 500,000 pounds.

Q. What may be the amount of the produce of your province exported to Britain?

A. It muſt be ſmall, as we produce little that is wanted in Britain. I ſuppoſe it cannot exceed 40,000 pounds.

Q. How then do you pay the balance?

A. The balance is paid by our produce carried to the Weſt-Indies, and ſold in our own iſlands, or to the French, Spaniards, Danes and Dutch; by the ſame carried to other colonies in North-America, as to New-England, Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina and Georgia; by the ſame carried to different parts of Europe, as Spain, Portugal and Italy. In all which places we receive either money, bills of exchange, or commodities that ſuit for remittance to Britain; which, together with all the profits on the induſtry of our merchants and mariners, ariſing in thoſe circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ſhips, centre finally in Britain, to diſcharge the balance, and pay for Britiſh manufactures continually uſed in the province, or ſold to foreigners by our traders.

Q. Have you heard of any difficulties lately laid on the Spaniſh trade?

A. Yes, I have heard that it has been greatly obſtructed by ſome new regulations, and by the Engliſh men of war and cutters ſtationed all along the coaſt in America.

Q. Do you think it right that America ſhould be protected by this country, and pay no part of the expence?

A. That is not the caſe. The Colonies raiſed, clothed and paid, during the laſt war, near 25,000 men, and ſpent many millions.

Q. Were you not reimburſed by parliament?

A. We were only reimburſed what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond

what might reaſonably be expected from us; and it was a very ſmall part of what we ſpent. Pennſylvania, in particular, diſburſed about 500,000 pounds, and the reimburſements, in the whole, did not exceed 60,000 pounds.

Q. You have ſaid that you pay heavy taxes in Pennſylvania; what do they amount to in the pound?

A. The tax on all eſtates, real and perſonal, is eighteen pence in the pound, fully rated; and the tax on the profits of trades and profeſſions, with other taxes, do, I ſuppoſe, make full half a crown in the pound.

Q. Do you know any thing of the rate of exchange in Pennſylvania, and whether it is fallen lately?

A. It is commonly from 170 to 175. I have heard that it has fallen lately from 175 to 162 and a half, owing, I ſuppoſe, to their leſſening their orders for goods; and when their debts to this country are paid, I think the exchange will probably be at par.

Q. Do not you think the people of America would ſubmit to pay the ſtamp duty, if it was moderated?

A. No, never, unleſs compelled by force of arms.

Q. Are not the taxes in Pennſylvania laid on unequally, in order to burthen the Engliſh trade, particularly the tax on profeſſions and buſineſs?

A. It is not more burthenſome in proportion than the tax on lands. It is intended, and ſuppoſed to take an equal proportion of profits.

Q. How is the aſſembly compoſed? Of what kinds of people are the members, landholders or traders?

A. It is compoſed of landholders, merchants and artificers.

Q. Are not the majority landholders?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Do not they, as much as poſſible, ſhift the tax off from the land, to eaſe that, and lay the burthen heavier on trade?

A. I have never underſtood it ſo. I never heard ſuch a thing ſuggeſted. And indeed an attempt of that kind could anſwer no purpoſe. The merchant or trader is always ſkilled in figures, and ready with his pen and ink. If unequal burthens are laid on his

trade, he puts an additional price on his goods; and the consumers, who are chiefly landholders, finally pay the greatest part, if not the whole.

Q. What was the temper of America towards G. Britain before the year 1763?

A. The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expence only of a little pen, ink and paper. They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection, for Great-Britain, for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an Old England-man, was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

Q. And what is their temper now?

A. O, very much altered.

Q. Did you ever hear the authority of parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?

A. The authority of parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

Q. In what proportion hath population increased in America?

A. I think the inhabitants of all the provinces together, taken at a medium, double in about 25 years. But their demand for British manufactures increases much faster, as the consumption is not merely in proportion to their numbers, but grows with the growing abilities of the same numbers to pay for them. In 1723, the whole importation from Britain to Pennsylvania, was but about 15,000 pounds sterling; it is now near half a million.

Q. In what light did the people of America use to consider the parliament of Great-Britain?

A. They considered the parliament as the great bulwark and security of their liberties and privileges,

and always ſpoke of it with the utmoſt reſpect and veneration. Arbitrary miniſters, they thought, might poſſibly, at times, attempt to oppreſs them; but they relied on it, that the parliament, on application, would always give redreſs. They remembered, with gratitude, a ſtrong inſtance of this, when a bill was brought into parliament, with a clauſe to make royal inſtructions laws in the colonies, which the houſe of commons would not paſs, and it was thrown out.

Q. And have they not ſtill the ſame reſpect for parliament?

A. No; it is greatly leſſened.

Q. To what cauſes is that owing?

A. To a concurrence of cauſes; the reſtraints lately laid on their trade, by which the bringing of foreign gold and ſilver into the colonies was prevented; the prohibition of making paper money among themſelves; and then demanding a new and heavy tax by ſtamps; taking away, at the ſame time, trials by juries, and refuſing to receive and hear their humble petitions.

Q. Don't you think they would ſubmit to the ſtamp act, if it was modified, the obnoxious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to ſome particulars, of ſmall moment?

A. No; they will never ſubmit to it.

Q. What do you think is the reaſon that the people of America increaſe faſter than in England?

A. Becauſe they marry younger, and more generally.

Q. Why ſo?

A. Becauſe any young couple that are induſtrious, may eaſily obtain land of their own, on which they can raiſe a family.

Q. Are not the lower rank of people more at their eaſe in America than in England?

A. They may be ſo, if they are ſober and diligent, as they are better paid for their labour.

Q. What is your opinion of a future tax, impoſed on the ſame principle with that of the ſtamp act; how would the Americans receive it?

A. Juſt as they do this. They would not pay it.

Q. Have you not heard of the reſolutions of this houſe, and of the houſe of lords, aſſerting the right of parliament relating to America, including a power to tax the people there?

A. Yes, I have heard of ſuch reſolutions.

Q. What will be the opinion of the Americans on thoſe reſolutions?

A. They will think them unconſtitutional, and unjuſt.

Q. Was it an opinion in America before 1763, that the parliament had no right to lay taxes and duties there?

A. I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce; but a right to lay internal taxes was never ſuppoſed to be in parliament, as we are not repreſented there.

Q. On what do you found your opinion, that the people in America made any ſuch diſtinction?

A. I know that whenever the ſubject has occurred in converſation where I have been preſent, it has appeared to be the opinion of every one, that we could not be taxed in a parliament where we were not repreſented. But the payment of duties laid by act of parliament, as regulations of commerce, was never diſputed.

Q. But can you name any act of aſſembly, or public act of any of your governments, that made ſuch diſtinction?

A. I do not know that there was any; I think there was never an occaſion to make any ſuch act, till now that you have attempted to tax us; that has occaſioned reſolutions of aſſembly, declaring the diſtinction, in which I think every aſſembly on the continent, and every member in every aſſembly, have been unanimous.

Q. What then could occaſion converſations on that ſubject before that time?

A. There was in 1754 a propoſition made (I think it came from hence) that in caſe of a war, which was then apprehended, the governors of the colonies ſhould meet, and order the levying of troops, building of forts, and taking every other neceſſary meaſure for the general defence; and ſhould draw on the treaſury

here for the sums expended, which were afterwards to be raised in the colonies by a general tax, to be laid on them by act of parliament. This occasioned a good deal of conversation on the subject, and the general opinion was, that the parliament neither would nor could lay any tax on us, till we were duly represented in parliament, because it was not just, nor agreeable to the nature of an English constitution.

Q. Don't you know there was a time in New-York, when it was under consideration to make an application to parliament to lay taxes on that colony, upon a deficiency arising from the assembly's refusing or neglecting to raise the necessary supplies for the support of the civil government?

A. I never heard of it.

Q. There was such an application under consideration in New-York; and do you apprehend they could suppose the right of parliament to lay a tax in America was only local, and confined to the case of a deficiency in a particular colony, by a refusal of its assembly to raise the necessary supplies?

A. They could not suppose such a case, as that the assembly would not raise the necessary supplies to support its own government. An assembly that would refuse it must want common sense, which cannot be supposed. I think there was never any such case at New-York, and that it must be a misrepresentation, or the fact must be misunderstood. I know there have been some attempts, by ministerial instructions from hence, to oblige the assemblies to settle permanent salaries on governors, which they wisely refused to do; but I believe no assembly of New-York, or any other colony, ever refused duly to support government by proper allowances, from time to time, to public officers.

Q. But in case a governor, acting by instruction, should call on an assembly to raise the necessary supplies, and the assembly should refuse to do it, do you not think it would then be for the good of the people of the colony, as well as necessary to government, that the parliament should tax them?

A. I do not think it would be necessary. If an assembly could possibly be so absurd as to refuse rai-

ſing the ſupplies requiſite for the maintenance of government among them, they could not long remain in ſuch a ſituation, the diſorders and confuſion occaſioned by it muſt ſoon bring them to reaſon.

Q. If it ſhould not, ought not the right to be in Great-Britian of applying a remedy?

A. A right only to be uſed in ſuch a caſe, I ſhould have no objection to, ſuppoſing it to be uſed merely for the good of the people of the colony.

Q. But who is to judge of that, Britain or the colony?

A. Thoſe that feel can beſt judge.

Q. You ſay the colonies have always ſubmitted to external taxes, and object to the right of parliament only in laying internal taxes; now can you ſhew that there is any kind of difference between the two taxes to the colony on which they may be laid?

A. I think the difference is very great. An external tax is a duty laid on commodities imported; that duty is added to the firſt coſt, and other charges on the commodity, and when it is offered to ſale, makes a part of the price. If the people do not like it at that price, they refuſe it; they are not obliged to pay it. But an internal tax is forced from the people without their conſent, if not laid by their own repreſentatives. The ſtamp-act ſays, we ſhall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchaſe nor grant, nor recover debts; we ſhall neither marry, nor make our wills, unleſs we pay ſuch and ſuch ſums, and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the conſequences of refuſing to pay it.

Q. But ſuppoſing the external tax or duty to be laid on the neceſſaries of life imported into your colony, will not that be the ſame thing in its effects as an internal tax?

A. I do not know a ſingle article imported into the northern colonies, but what they can either do without, or make themſelves.

Q. Don't you think cloth from England abſolutely neceſſary to them?

A. No, by no means abſolutely neceſſary; with induſtry and good management, they may very well ſupply themſelves with all they want.

Q. Will it not take a long time to eſtabliſh that manufacture among them? and muſt they not in the mean while ſuffer greatly?

A. I think not. They have made a ſurpriſing progreſs already. And I am of opinion, that before their old clothes are worn out, they will have new ones of their own making.

Q. Can they poſſibly find wool enough in North America?

A. They have taken ſteps to increaſe the wool. They entered into general combinations to eat no more lamb, and very few lambs were killed laſt year. This courſe perſiſted in will ſoon make a prodigious difference in the quantity of wool. And the eſtabliſhing of great manufactories, like thoſe in the clothing towns here, is not neceſſary, as it is where the buſineſs is to be carried on for the purpoſes of trade. The people will all ſpin, and work for themſelves, in their own houſes.

Q. Can there be wool and manufacture enough in one or two years?

A. In three years, I think, there may.

Q. Does not the ſeverity of the winter, in the Northern Colonies, occaſion the wool to be of bad quality?

A. No; the wool is very fine and good.

Q. In the more Southern Colonies, as in Virginia; don't you know that the wool is coarſe, and only a kind of hair?

A. I don't know it. I never heard it. Yet I havebeen ſometimes in Virginia. I cannot ſay I ever took particular notice of the wool there, but I believe it is good, though I cannot ſpeak poſitively of it; but Virginia, and the colonies ſouth of it, have leſs occaſion for wool; their winters are ſhort, and not very ſevere, and they can very well clothe themſelves with linen and cotton of their own raiſing for the reſt of the year.

Q. Are not the people, in the more northern colonies, obliged to fodder their ſheep all the winter?

A. In ſome of the moſt northern colonies they may be obliged to do it ſome part of the winter.

Q. Conſidering the reſolutions of parliament, as to the right, do you think, if the ſtamp-act is repealed, that the North Americans will be ſatisfied?

A. I believe they will.

Q. Why do you think ſo?

A. I think the reſolutions of right will give them very little concern, if they are never attempted to be carried into practice. The colonies will probably conſider themſelves in the ſame ſituation, in that reſpect, with Ireland; they koow you claim the ſame right with regard to Ireland, but you never exerciſe it. And they may believe you never will exerciſe it in the Colonies, any more than in Ireland, unleſs on ſome very extraordinary occaſion.

Q. But who are to be the judges of that extraordinary occaſion? Is it not the parliament?

A. Though the parliament may judge of the occaſion, the people will think it can never exerciſe ſuch right, till repreſentatives from the colonies are admitted into parliament, and that whenever the occaſion ariſes, repreſentatives will be ordered.

Q. Did you never hear that Maryland, during the laſt war, had refuſed to furniſh a quota towards the common defence?

A. Maryland has been much miſrepreſented in that matter. Maryland, to my knowledge, never refuſed to contribute, or grant aids to the crown. The aſſemblies every year, during the war, voted conſiderable ſums, and formed bills to raiſe them. The bills were, according to the conſtitution of that province, ſent up to the council, or upper houſe, for concurrence, that they might be preſented to the governor, in order to be enacted into laws. Unhappy diſputes between the two houſes ariſing, from the defects of that conſtitution principally, rendered all the bills but one or two abortive. The proprietary's council rejected them. It is true Maryland did not contribute its proportion, but it was, in my opinion, the fault of the government, not of the people.

Q. Was it not talked of in the other provinces as a proper meaſure to apply to parliament to compel them?

A. I have heard ſuch diſcourſe; but as it was well known, that the people were not to blame, no ſuch application was ever made, nor any ſtep taken towards it.

Q. Was it not propoſed at a public meeting?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Do you remember the aboliſhing of the paper currency in New England, by act of aſſembly?

A. I do remember its being aboliſhed, in the Maſſachuſett's Bay.

Q. Was not Lieutenant Governor Hutchinſon principally concerned in that tranſaction?

A. I have heard ſo.

Q. Was it not at that time a very unpopular law?

A. I believe it might, though I can ſay little about it, as I lived at a diſtance from that province.

Q. Was not the ſcarcity of gold and ſilver an argument uſed againſt aboliſhing the paper?

A. I ſuppoſe it was.

Q. What is the preſent opinion there of that law? Is it as unpopular as it was at firſt?

A. I think it is not.

Q. Have not inſtructions from hence been ſometimes ſent over to governors, highly oppreſſive and unpolitical?

A. Yes.

Q. Have not ſome governors diſpenſed with them for that reaſon?

A. Yes; I have heard ſo.

Q. Did the Americans ever diſpute the controling power of parliament to regulate the commerce?

A. No.

Q. Can any thing leſs than a military force carry the ſtamp-act into execution?

A. I do not ſee how a military force can be applied to that purpoſe.

Q. Why may it not?

A. Suppoſe a military force ſent into America, they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take ſtamps who chooſes to do without them. They will not find a rebellion; they may indeed make one.

Q. If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the conſequences?

A. A total loſs of the reſpect and affection the people of America bear to this country, and of all the commerce that depends on that reſpect and affection.

Q. How can the commerce be affected?

A. You will find, that if the act is not repealed, they will take very little of your manufactures in a short time.

Q. Is it in their power to do without them?

A. I think they may very well do without them.

Q. Is it their interest not to take them?

A. The goods they take from Britain are either necessaries, mere conveniences, or superfluities. The first, as cloth, &c. with a little industry they can make at home; the second they can do without, till they are able to provide them among themselves; and the last, which are much the greatest part, they will strike off immediately. They are mere articles of fashion, purchased and consumed, because the fashion in a respected country, but will now be detested and rejected.—The people have already struck off, by general agreement, the use of all goods fashionable in mournings, and many thousand pounds worth are sent back as unsaleable.

Q. Is it their interest to make cloth at home?

A. I think they may at present get it cheaper from Britain, I mean of the same fineness and neatness of workmanship; but when one considers other circumstances, the restraints on their trade, and the difficulty of making remittances, it is their interest to make every thing.

Q. Suppose an act of internal regulations, connected with a tax, how would they receive it?

A. I think it would be objected to.

Q. Then no regulation with a tax would be submitted to?

A. Their opinion is, that when aids to the Crown are wanted, they are to be asked of the several assemblies, according to the old established usage, who will as they always have done, grant them freely. And that their money ought not to be given away without their consent, by persons at a distance, unacquainted with their circumstances and abilities. The granting aids to the Crown, is the only means they have of recommending themselves to their sovereign, and they think it extremely hard and unjust, that a body men, in which they have no representatives, should make a merit to itself of giving and granting what is not its

own, but theirs, and deprive them of a right they esteem of the utmoſt value and importance, as it is the ſecurity of all their other rights.

Q. But is not the poſt-office, which they have long received, a tax as well as a regulation?

A. No; the money paid for the poſtage of a letter is not of the nature of a tax; it is merely a quantum meruit for a ſervice done; no perſon is compellable to pay the money, if he does not chuſe to receive the ſervice. A man may ſtill, as before the act, ſend his letter by a ſervant, a ſpecial meſſenger, or a friend, if he thinks it cheaper and ſafer.

Q. But do they not conſider the regulations of the poſt-office, by the act of laſt year, as a tax?

A. By the regulations of laſt year the rate of poſtage was generally abated near thirty per cent. through all America; they certainly cannot conſider ſuch abatement as a tax.

Q. If an exciſe was laid by parliament which they might likewiſe avoid paying, by not conſuming the articles exciſed, would they then not object to it?

A. They would certainly object to it, as an exciſe is unconnected with any ſervice done, and is merely an aid which they think ought to be aſked of them, and granted by them, if they are to pay it, and can be granted for them by no others whatſoever, whom they have not impowered for that purpoſe.

Q. You ſay they do not object to the right of parliament in laying duties on goods to be paid on their importation; now, is there any kind of difference between a duty on the importation of goods, and an exciſe on their conſumption?

A. Yes; a very material one; an exciſe, for the reaſons I have juſt mentioned, they think you can have no right to lay within their country. But the ſea is yours; you maintain, by your fleets, the ſafety of navigation in it; and keep it clear of pirates; you may have therefore a natural and equitable right to ſome toll or duty on merchandizes carried through that part of your dominions, towards defraying the expence you are at in ſhips to maintain the ſafety of that carriage.

Q. Does this reaſoning hold in the caſe of a duty laid on the produce of their lands exported? and would they not then object to ſuch a duty?

A. If it tended to make the produce ſo much dearer abroad as to leſſen the demand for it, to be ſure they would object to ſuch a duty; not to your right of laying it, but they would complain of it as a burthen, and petition you to lighten it.

Q. Is not the duty paid on the tobacco exported a duty of that kind?

A. That, I think, is only on tobacco carried coaſtwiſe from one colony to another, and appropriated as a fund for ſupporting the college at Williamſburgh, in Virginia.

Q. Have not the aſſemblies in the Weſt-Indies the ſame natural rights with thoſe in North America?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. And is there not a tax laid there on their ſugars exported?

A. I am not much acquainted with the Weſt-Indies, but the duty of four and a half per cent on ſugars exported, was, I believe, granted by their own aſſemblies.

Q. How much is the poll-tax in your province laid on unmarried men?

A. It is, I think, fifteen ſhillings, to be paid by every ſingle freeman, upwards of twenty-one years old.

Q. What is the annual amount of all the taxes in Pennſylvania?

A. I ſuppoſe about 20,000 pounds ſterling.

Q. Suppoſing the ſtamp-act continued, and enforced, do you imagine that ill humour will induce the Americans to give as much for worſe manufactures, of their own, and uſe them, preferably to better of ours?

A. Yes, I think ſo. People will pay as freely to gratify one paſſion as another, their reſentment as their pride.

Q. Would the people at Boſton diſcontinue their trade?

A. The merchants are a very ſmall number compared with the body of the people, and muſt diſcontinue their trade, if nobody will buy their goods.

Q. What are the body of the people in the colonies?

A. They are farmers, husbandmen or planters.

Q. Would they suffer the produce of their lands to rot?

A. No; but they would not raise so much. They would manufacture more, and plough less.

Q. Would they live without the administration of justice in civil matters, and suffer all the inconveniencies of such a situation for any considerable time, rather than take the stamps, supposing the stamps were protected by a sufficient force, where every one might have them?

A. I think the supposition impracticable, that the stamps should be so protected as that every one might have them. The act requires sub-distributors to be appointed in every county town, district and village, and they would be necessary. But the principal distributors, who were to have had a considerable profit on the whole, have not thought it worth while to continue in the office, and I think it impossible to find sub-distributors fit to be trusted, who, for the trifling profit that must come to their share, would incur the odium, and run the hazard that would attend it; and if they could be found, I think it impracticable to protect the stamps in so many distant and remote places.

Q. But in places where they could be protected, would not the people use them rather than remain in such a situation, unable to obtain any right, or recover, by law, any debt?

A. It is hard to say what they would do. I can only judge what other people will think, and how they will act, by what I feel within myself. I have a great many debts due to me in America, and I had rather they should remain unrecoverable by any law, than submit to the stamp-act. They will be debts of honour. It is my opinion the people will either continue in that situation, or find some way to extricate themselves, perhaps by generally agreeing to proceed in the courts without stamps.

Q. What do you think a ſufficient military force to protect the diſtribution of the ſtamps in every part of America?

A. A very great force; I can't ſay what, if the diſpoſition of America is for a general reſiſtance.

Q. What is the number of men in America able to bear arms, or of diſciplined militia?

A. There are, I ſuppoſe, at leaſt——

[*Queſtion objected to. He withdrew. Called in again.*]

Q. Is the American ſtamp-act an equal tax on that country?

A. I think not.

Q. Why ſo?

A. The greateſt part of the money muſt ariſe from law ſuits for the recovery of debts, and be paid by the lower ſort of people, who were too poor eaſily to pay their debts. It is therefore a heavy tax on the poor, and a tax upon them for being poor.

Q. But will not this increaſe of expence be a means of leſſening the number of law ſuits?

A. I think not; for as the coſts all fall upon the debtor, and are to be paid by him, they would be no diſcouragement to the creditor to bring his action.

Q. Would it not have the effect of exceſſive uſury?

A. Yes, as an oppreſſion of the debtor.

Q. How many ſhips are there laden annually in North-America with flax-ſeed for Ireland?

A. I cannot ſpeak to the number of ſhips, but I know that in 1752, 10,000 hogſheads of flax-ſeed, each containing 7 buſhels, were exported from Philadelphia to Ireland. I ſuppoſe the quantity is greatly increaſed ſince that time; and it is underſtood that the exportation from New-York is equal to that from Philadelphia.

Q. What becomes of the flax that grows with that flax-ſeed?

A. They manufacture ſome into coarſe, and ſome into a middling kind of linen.

Q. Are there any ſlitting mills in America?

A. I think there are, but I believe only one at preſent employed. I ſuppoſe they will all be ſet to work, if the interruption of the trade continues.

Q. Are there any fulling mills there?

A. A great many.

Q. Did you never hear that a great quantity of ſtockings were contracted for the army during the war, and manufactured in Philadelphia?

A. I have heard ſo.

Q. If the ſtamp act ſhould be repealed, would not the Americans think they could oblige the parliament to repeal every external tax law now in force?

A. It is hard to anſwer queſtions of what people at ſuch a diſtance will think.

Q. But what do you imagine they will think were the motives of repealing the act?

A. I ſuppoſe they will think that it was repealed from a conviction of its inexpediency; and they will rely upon it, that while the ſame inexpediency ſubſiſts, you will never attempt to make ſuch another.

Q. What do you mean by its inexpediency?

A. I mean its inexpediency on ſeveral accounts; the power and inability of thoſe who were to pay the tax; the general diſcontent it has occaſioned; and the impracticability of enforcing it.

Q. If the act ſhould be repealed, and the legiſlature ſhould ſhew its reſentment to the oppoſers of the ſtamp-act, would the colonies acquieſce in the authority of the legiſlature? What is your opinion they would do?

A. I don't doubt at all, that if the legiſlature repeal the ſtamp-act, the colonies will acquieſce in the authority.

Q. But if the legiſlature ſhould think fit to aſcertain its right to lay taxes, by any act laying a ſmall tax, contrary to their opinion, would they ſubmit to pay the tax?

A. The proceedings of the people in America have been conſidered too much together. The proceedings of the aſſemblies have been very different from thoſe of the mobs, and ſhould be diſtinguiſhed, as having no connection with each other.—The aſſemblies have only peaceably reſolved what they take to be their rights; they have taken no meaſures for oppoſition by force, they have not built a fort, raiſed a man, or provided a grain of ammunition, in order to ſuch oppoſi-

tion.—The ringleaders of riots they think ought to be punished; they would punish them themselves, if they could. Every sober sensible man would wish to see rioters punished, as otherwise peaceable people have no security of person or estate. But as to any internal tax, how small soever, laid by the legislature here on the people there, while they have no representatives in this legislature, I think it will never be submitted to—They will oppose it to the last.—They do not consider it as at all necessary for you to raise money on them by your taxes, because they are, and always have been, ready to raise money by taxes among themselves, and to grant large sums, equal to their abilities, upon requisition from the Crown.—They have not only granted equal to their abilities, but, during all the last war, they granted far beyond their abilities, and beyond their proportion with this country, you yourselves being judges, to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds, and this they did freely and readily, only on a sort of promise from the secretary of state, that it should be recommended to parliament to make them compensation. It was accordingly recommended to parliament, in the most honourable manner, for them. America has been greatly misrepresented and abused here, in papers, and pamphlets, and speeches, as ungrateful, and unreasonable, and unjust, in having put this nation to immense expence for their defence, and refusing to bear any part of that expence. The colonies raised, paid and clothed, near 25,000 men during the last war, a number equal to those sent from Britain, and far beyond their proportion; they went deeply into debt in doing this, and all their taxed estates are mortgaged, for many years to come, for discharging that debt. Government here was at that time very sensible of this. The colonies were recommended to parliament. Every year the King sent down to the house a written message to this purpose, That his Majesty, being highly sensible of the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North-America had exerted themselves in defence of his Majesty's just rights and possessions, recommended it to the house to take the same into consideration, and enable him to give them a pro-

per compenſation. You will find thoſe meſſages on your own journals every year of the war to the very laſt, and you did accordingly give 200,000 pounds annually to the Crown, to be diſtributed in ſuch compenſation to the colonies. This is the ſtrongeſt of all proofs that the colonies, far from being unwilling to bear a ſhare of the burthen, did exceed their proportion; for if they had done leſs, or had only equalled their proportion, there would have been no room or reaſon for compenſation.—Indeed the ſums reimburſed them, were by no means adequate to the expence they incurred beyond their proportion; but they never murmured at that; they eſteemed their Sovereign's approbation of their zeal and fidelity, and the approbation of this houſe, far beyond any other kind of compenſation; therefore there was no occaſion for this act, to force money from a willing people; they had not refuſed giving money for the purpoſes of the act; no requiſition had been made; they were always willing and ready to do what could reaſonably be expected from them, and in this light they wiſh to be conſidered.

Q. But ſuppoſe Great-Britain ſhould be engaged in a war in Europe, would North America contribute to the ſupport of it?

A. I do think they would, as far as their circumſtances would permit. They conſider themſelves as a part of the Britiſh empire, and as having one common intereſt with it; they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not conſider themſelves as ſuch. They are zealous for the honour and proſperity of this nation, and, while they are well uſed, will always be ready to ſupport it, as far as their little power goes.—In 1739 they were called upon to aſſiſt in the expedition againſt Carthagena, and they ſent 3000 men to join your army. It is true Carthagena is in America, but as remote from the northern colonies, as if it had been in Europe. They make no diſtinction of wars, as to their duty of aſſiſting in them. I know the laſt war is commonly ſpoke of here as entered into for the defence, or for the ſake of the people of America. I think it is quite miſunderſtood. It began about the limits between Canada and Nova-Scotia, about terri-

tories to which the Crown indeed laid claim, but were not claimed by any British colony; none of the lands had been granted to any coloniſt; we had therefore no particular concern or intereſt in that diſpute. As to the Ohio, the conteſt there began about your right of trading in the Indian country, a right you had by the treaty of Utrecht, which the French infringed; they ſeized the traders and their goods, which were your manufactures; they took a fort which a company of your merchants, and their factors and correſpondents, had erected there, to ſecure that trade.—Braddock was ſent with an army to re-take that fort (which was looked on here as another incroachment on the king's territory) and to protect your trade. It was not till after his defeat that the colonies were attacked. They were before in perfect peace with both French and Indians; the troops were not therefore ſent for their defence. The trade with the Indians though carried on in America, is not an American intereſt. The people of America are chiefly farmers and planters; ſcarce any thing that they raiſe or produce is an article of commerce with the Indians. The Indian trade is a Britiſh intereſt; it is carried on with Britiſh manufactures, for the profit of Britiſh merchants and manufacturers; therefore the war, as it commenced for the defence of territories of the Crown, the property of no American, and for the defence of a trade purely Britiſh, was really a Britiſh war—and yet the people of America made no ſcruple of contributing their utmoſt towards carrying it on, and bringing it to a happy concluſion.

Q. Do you think then that the taking poſſeſſion of the king's territorial rights, and ſtrengtheni ng the frontiers, is not an American intereſt?

A. Not particularly, but conjointly a Britiſh and an American intereſt.

Q. You will not deny that the preceding war, the war with Spain, was entered into for the ſake of America; was it not occaſioned by captures made in the American ſeas?

A. Yes; captures of ſhips carrying on the Britiſh trade there, with Britiſh manufactures.

Q. Was not the late war with the Indians, ſince the peace with France, a war for America only?

A. Yes; it was more particularly for America than the former, but it was rather a conſequence or remains of the former war, the Indians not having been thoroughly pacified, and the Americans bore by much the greateſt ſhare of the expence. It was put an end to by the army under General Bouquet; there were not above 300 regulars in that army, and above 1000 Pennſylvanians.

Q. Is it not neceſſary to ſend troops to America, to defend the Americans againſt the Indians?

A. No, by no means; it never was neceſſary. They defended themſelves when they were but an handful, and the Indians much more numerous. They continually gained ground, and have driven the Indians over the mountains, without any troops ſent to their aſſiſtance from this country. And can it be thought neceſſary now to ſend troops for their defence from thoſe diminiſhed Indian tribes, when the colonies are become ſo populous, and ſo ſtrong? There is not the leaſt occaſion for it; they are very able to defend themſelves.

Q. Do you ſay there were no more than 300 regular troops employed in the late Indian war?

A. Not on the Ohio, or the frontiers of Pennſylvania, which was the chief part of the war that affected the colonies. There were garriſons at Niagara, Fort Detroit, and thoſe remote poſts kept for the ſake of your trade; I did not reckon them, but I believe that on the whole the number of Americans, or provincial troops, employed in the war, was greater than that of the regulars. I am not certain, but I think ſo.

Q. Do you think the aſſemblies have a right to levy money on the ſubject there, to grant to the Crown?

A. I certainly think ſo; they have always done it.

Q. Are they acquainted with the declaration of rights? and do they know that, by that ſtatute, money is not to be raiſed on the ſubject but by conſent of parliament?

A. They are very well acquainted with it.

Q. How then can they think they have a right to levy money for the Crown, or for any other than local purpoſes?

A. They understand that clause to relate to subjects only within the realm; that no money can be levied on them for the Crown, but by consent of parliament. The colonies are not supposed to be within the realm; they have assemblies of their own; which are their parliaments, and they are in that respect in the same situation with Ireland. When money is to be raised for the Crown upon the subject in Ireland, or in the colonies, the consent is given in the parliament of Ireland, or in the assemblies of the colonies. They think the parliament of Great-Britain cannot properly give that consent till it has representatives from America; for the petition of right expressly says, it is to be by common consent in parliament, and the people of America have no representatives in parliament, to make a part of that common consent.

Q. If the stamp-act should be repealed, and an act should pass, ordering the assemblies of the colonies to indemnify the sufferers by the riots, would they obey it?

A. That is a question I cannot answer.

Q. Suppose the king should require the colonies to grant a revenue, and the parliament should be against their doing it, do they think they can grant a revenue to the king, without the consent of the parliament of Great Britain?

A. That is a deep question.—As to my own opinion, I should think myself at liberty to do it, and should do it, if I liked the occasion.

Q. When money has been raised in the colonies upon requisitions, has it not been granted to the king?

A. Yes, always; but the requisitions have generally been for some service expressed, as to raise, clothe and pay troops, and not for money only.

Q. If the act should pass, requiring the American assemblies to make compensation to the sufferers, and they should disobey it, and then the parliament should, by another act, lay an internal tax, would they then obey it?

A. The people will pay no internal tax; and I think an act to oblige the assemblies to make compensation is unnecessary, for I am of opinion, that as soon as the present heats are abated, they will take the matter in-

to consideration, and, if it is right to be done, they will do it of themselves.

Q. Do not letters often come into the post-offices in America, directed to some inland town where no post goes?

A. Yes.

Q. Can any private person take up those letters, and carry them as directed?

A. Yes; any friend of the person may do it, paying the postage that has occurred.

Q. But must he not pay an additional postage for the distance to such inland town?

A. No.

Q. Can the post-master answer delivering the letter, without being paid such additional postage?

A. Certainly he can demand nothing, where he does no service.

Q. Suppose a person, being far from home, finds a letter in a post-office directed to him, and he lives in a place to which the post generally goes, and the letter is directed to that place, will the post-master deliver him the letter, without his paying the postage receivable at the place to which the letter is directed?

A. Yes; the office cannot demand postage for a letter that it does not carry, or farther than it does carry it.

Q. Are not ferrymen in America obliged, by act of parliament, to carry over the posts without pay?

A. Yes.

Q. Is not this a tax on the ferrymen?

A. They do not consider it as such, as they have an advantage from persons travelling with the post.

Q. If the stamp-act should be repealed, and the crown should make a requisition to the colonies for a sum of money, would they grant it?

A. I believe they would.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I can speak for the colony I live in; I had it in instruction from the assembly to assure the ministry, that as they always had done, so they should always think it their duty to grant such aids to the Crown as were suitable to their circumstances and abilities, whenever called upon for the purpose, in the usual consti-

tutional manner; and I had the honour of communicating this inſtruction to that honourable gentleman then miniſter.

Q. Would they do this for a Britiſh concern; as ſuppoſe a war in ſome part of Europe, that did not affect them?

A. Yes, for any thing that concerned the general intereſt. They conſider themſelves as a part of the whole.

Q. What is the uſual conſtitutional manner of calling on the colonies for aids?

A. A letter to the ſecretary of ſtate.

Q. Is this all you mean, a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate?

A. I mean the uſual way of requiſition, in a circular letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, by his Majeſty's command, reciting the occaſion, and recommending it to the colonies to grant ſuch aids as became their loyalty, and were ſuitable to their abilities.

Q. Did the ſecretary of ſtate ever write for money for the Crown?

A. The requiſitions have been to raiſe, clothe and pay men, which cannot be done without money.

Q. Would they grant money alone, if called on?

A. In my opinion they would, money as well as men, when they have money, or can make it.

Q. If the parliament ſhould repeal the ſtamp-act, will the aſſembly of Pennſylvania reſcind their reſolutions?

A. I think not.

Q. Before there was any thought of the ſtamp-act, did they wiſh for a repreſentation in parliament?

A. No.

Q. Don't you know that there is, in the Pennſylvania charter, an expreſs reſervation of the right of parliament to lay taxes there?

A. I know there is a clauſe in the charter, by which the king grants that he will levy no taxes on the inhabitants, unleſs it be with the conſent of the aſſembly, or by act of parliament.

Q. How then could the aſſembly of Pennſylvania aſſert, that laying a tax on them by the ſtamp-act was an infringement of their rights?

A. They underſtand it thus; by the ſame charter, and otherwiſe, they are intitled to all the privileges and liberties of Engliſhmen; they find in the great charters, and the petition and declaration of rights, that one of the privileges of Engliſh ſubjects is, that they are not to be taxed but by their common conſent; they have therefore relied upon it, from the firſt ſettlement of the province, that the parliament never would, nor could, by colour of that clauſe in the charter, aſſume a right of taxing them, till it had qualified itſelf to exerciſe ſuch right, by admitting repreſentatives from the people to be taxed, who ought to make a part of that common conſent.

Q. Are there any words in the charter that juſtify that conſtruction?

A. The common rights of Engliſhmen, as declared by Magna Charta, and the petition of right, all juſtify it.

Q. Does the diſtinction between internal and external taxes exiſt in the words of the charter?

A. No, I believe not.

Q. Then may they not, by the ſame interpretation, object to the parliament's right of external taxation?

A. They never have hitherto. Many arguments have been lately uſed here to ſhew them that there is no difference, and that if you have no right to tax them internally, you have none to tax them externally, or make any other law to bind them. At preſent they do not reaſon ſo, but in time they may poſſibly be convinced by theſe arguments.

Q. Do not the reſolutions of the Pennſylvania aſſembly ſay all taxes?

A. If they do, they mean only internal taxes; the ſame words have not always the ſame meaning here and in the colonies. By taxes they mean internal taxes; by duties they mean cuſtoms; theſe are their ideas of the language.

Q. Have you not ſeen the reſolutions of the Maſſachuſetts Bay aſſembly?

A. I have.

Q. Do they not ſay, that neither external nor internal taxes can be laid on them by parliament?

A. I don't know that they do; I believe not.

Q. If the ſame colony ſhould ſay neither tax nor impoſition could be laid, does not that province hold the power of parliament can hold neither?

A. I ſuppoſe that by the word impoſition, they do not intend to expreſs duties to be laid on goods imported, as regulations of commerce.

Q. What can the colonies mean then by impoſition as diſtinct from taxes?

A. They may mean many things, as impreſſing of men, or of carriages, quartering troops on private houſes, and the like; there may be great impoſitions, that are not properly taxes.

Q. Is not the poſt-office rate an internal tax laid by act of parliament?

A. I have anſwered that.

Q. Are all parts of the colonies equally able to pay taxes?

A. No, certainly; the frontier parts, which have been ravaged by the enemy, are greatly diſabled by that means, and therefore, in ſuch caſes, are uſually favoured in our tax laws.

Q. Can we, at this diſtance, be competent judges of what favours are neceſſary?

A. The parliament have ſuppoſed it, by claiming a right to make tax laws for America; I think it impoſſible.

Q. Would the repeal of the ſtamp-act be any diſcouragement of your manufactures? Will the people that have begun to manufacture decline it?

A. Yes, I think they will; eſpecially if, at the ſame time, the trade is opened again, ſo that remittances can be eaſily made. I have known ſeveral inſtances that make it probable. In the war before laſt, tobacco being low, and making little remittance, the people of Virginia went generally into family manufactures. Afterwards, when tobacco bore a better price, they returned to the uſe of Britiſh manufactures. So fulling mills were very much diſuſed in the laſt war in Pennſylvania, becauſe bills were then plenty, and remittances could eaſily be made to Britain for Engliſh cloth and other goods.

Q. If the ſtamp-act ſhould be repealed, would it

induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the rights of parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?

A. No, never.

Q. Is there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

A. None that I know of; they will never do it unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Is there a power on earth that can force them to erase them?

A. No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions.

Q. Do they consider the post-office as a tax, or as a regulation?

A. Not as a tax, but as a regulation and convenience; every assembly encouraged it, and supported it in its infancy, by grants of money, which they would not otherwise have done; and the people have always paid the postage.

Q. When did you receive the instructions you mentioned?

A. I brought them with me, when I came to England, about 15 months since.

Q. When did you communicate that instruction to the minister?

A. Soon after my arrival, while the stamping of America was under consideration, and before the bill was brought in.

Q. Would it be most for the interest of Great-Britain, to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, or in manufactures?

A. In tobacco to be sure.

Q. What used to be the pride of the Americans?

A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

Q. What is now their pride?

A. To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.

Withdrew.

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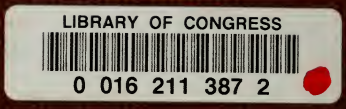
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